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DE CÉLORON'S EXPEDITION TO THE OHIO IN 1749

THE extensive territory lying between the Ohio River and Lake Erie has been the theatre of many remarkable historical changes.

Its earliest inhabitants left no record of their origin or history, save in the numerous tumuli which are scattered over its surface, bearing trees of the largest growth, not distinguishable from the adjacent forest. Measured by the extent and character of those vast structures, the race that built them must have been intelligent and populous. When and how they disappeared, we know not. Whether they were directly succeeded by the present race of Indians, or by an intermediate people, are questions to which history gives no answer. When La Salle discovered the Ohio he found it in the occupation of the red man, who claimed possession and ownership over the territory comprised within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, until the close of the last century. His villages were on every stream, and his hunting grounds embraced every hill and valley.

The attractions of the fur trade stimulated Eastern adventurers to penetrate, from time to time, the forest recesses of the West, and glowing descriptions were reported of the fertile soil, mineral wealth and the abundance of the fur-bearing animals. It was not until England and France, the two great rival Powers of Europe, became impressed with the prospective growth and value of the territory, and each prepared to grasp the coveted prize, that the native owners of the soil began to take serious alarm. On the one side, England claimed to the northern lakes, while France asserted ownership not only as far south as the Ohio, but over all the lands drained by its extensive tributaries.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, to which both of those powers were parties, while it terminated a long and sanguinary war in Europe, left many subjects of controversy still unsettled. Among them were the boundaries between the French and English in America. At the con-

clusion of that treaty England lost no time in initiating measures for the occupation and colonization of the disputed territory, and encouraged the formation of the Ohio Company as one of the efficient means for accomplishing that purpose. Half a million of acres were granted by the Crown to that association, to be selected mainly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. This was coupled with the condition that settlements, protected by suitable forts, should be established on the grant. The French were equally alive on the subject, and the demonstrations of the English aroused the attention of the Marquis de la Galissonnière, a man of eminent ability and forethought, who was then Governor of Canada. In order to counteract the designs of the English, he dispatched Captain Bienville de Céloron,¹ a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, in command of a detachment, composed of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis, with orders to descend the Ohio, and take possession of the country in the name of the King. The principal officers under him were de Contrecoeur, who had been in command of Fort Niagara, and Coulon de Villiers, one of seven brothers, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. Contrecoeur was subsequently in command of Fort du Quesne, at or immediately after the defeat of Braddock.

The present article is designed to give an account of that expedition, to trace its route and to identify as far as possible the geographical points which it visited. Only brief notices of the undertaking have heretofore been given to the public. The discovery of some of the leaden plates, buried by its officers on the banks of the Ohio, have from time to time awakened public interest and curiosity, which the meagre accounts already published have failed to satisfy. While recently examining the archives of the *Département de la Marine* in Paris the writer met with the original manuscript journal kept by de Céloron during his entire voyage. He also found in the *Grandes Archives* of the *Dépôt de la Marine*, No. 17 rue de l'Université, a manuscript diary of Father Bonsecours, who styles himself "Jesuite Mathématicien," and who seems to have been the chaplain, as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances they traveled, the latitudes and longitudes of the principal geographical points, with occasional brief notes of the most important occurrences. In another department, called the *Bibliothèque du dépôt de la Marine*, there was found a large Ms. map, 31½ by 34½ inches square, representing the country through which the expedition passed, including the St. Law

rence westward of Montreal, Lakes Erie and Ontario, the territory south of those lakes as far as the Ohio, and the whole course of that river from the source of the Alleghany to the mouth of the Great Miami. This map forms an important illustration of the expedition. On it are delineated by appropriate characters the points where leaden plates were deposited, where the latitudes and longitudes were observed, and the localities of the Indian villages visited on the route.

The journals of de Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, and the map of the latter, have furnished the ground-work of the narrative. Explanatory and historical notes, drawn from other sources, have occasionally been added.

The first of the leaden plates was brought to the attention of the public in a letter addressed by Governor George Clinton to the Lords of Trade in London, dated New York, December 19th, 1750, in which he states that he "would send to their Lordships in two or three weeks a plate of lead, full of writing, which some of the upper nations of Indians stole from Jean Coeur," the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio, which river, and all the lands thereabouts, the French claim, as will appear by said writing." He further states "that the lead plate gave the Indians so much uneasiness that they immediately dispatched some of the Cayuga chiefs to him with it, saying that their only reliance was on him, and earnestly begged he would communicate the contents thereof to them, which he had done, much to their satisfaction and the interests of the English." The Governor concludes by saying that "the contents of the plate may be of great importance in clearing up the encroachments which the French have made on the British Empire in America." The plate was delivered to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Johnson, on the 4th of December, 1750, at his residence on the Mohawk, by a Cayuga Sachem, who accompanied it by the following speech:

"Brother Corlear and War-agh-i-ya-ghey: I am sent here by the Five Nations with a piece of writing, which the Senecas, our brethren, got by some artifice from Jean Coeur, earnestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and as we put all our confidence in you, our brother, we hope you will explain it ingeniously to us." Colonel Johnson replied to the Sachem, and through him to the Five Nations, returning a belt of wampum, and explaining the inscription on the plate. He told them that "it was a matter of the greatest consequence, involving the possession of their lands and hunting grounds, and that Jean Coeur and the French ought immediately to be expelled from the Ohio and Niagara." In reply, the Sachem said that "he had heard with great

attention and surprise the substance of the 'Devilish writing' he had brought," and that Colonel Johnson's remarks "were fully approved." He promised that belts from each of the Five Nations should be sent from the Senecas' Castle to the Indians at the Ohio, to warn and strengthen them against the French encroachments in that direction.

The following is a literal copy of the inscription in question. It was sent by Governor Clinton to the Lords of Trade on the 17th of January, 1751:

"L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE FRANCE, NOVS CELORON, COMMANDANT D'VN DETACHMENT ENVOIÉ PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS. DE LA GALISSONNIÈRE, COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITÉ DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS, AVONS ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQUE AU CONFLUENT DE L'OHIO ET DE TCHADAKOIN CE 29 JVILLET, PRÈS DE LA RIVIÈRE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE RIVIÈRE, POUR MONUMENT DU RENOUELLEMENT DE POSSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE RIVIÈRE OYO, ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT, ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX CÔTES JVSQVE AVX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIÈRES AINSI QV'EN ONT JOVI OU DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE, ET QU'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES, SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK, D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPELLE."

The above is certified to be "a true copy" by "Peter De Joncourt, interpreter."

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the 15th, King of France, we Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Governor General of New France, to reestablish tranquility in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this Plate of Lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chatauqua, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise *Belle Rivière*, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle."

On the 29th of January, 1751, Governor Clinton sent a copy of the above inscription to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, informing him that it was "taken from a plate stolen from Joncaire some months since in the Seneca country as he was going to the river Ohio."

The expedition was provided with a number of leaden plates, about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide and one-eighth of an

inch thick, on each of which an inscription in French, similar to the one above given, was engraved or stamped in capital letters, with blanks left for the insertion of the names of the rivers, at the confluence of which with the Ohio they should be deposited, and the dates of their deposit. The name of the artist, Paul de Brosse, was engraved on the reverse of each. Thus provided, the expedition left La Chine on the 15th of June, 1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Fontenac. From thence, coasting along the eastern and southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. They reached the portage at Lewiston on the 7th, and ascended the Niagara into Lake Erie. On the 14th, after advancing a few miles up the lake, they were compelled by a strong wind to encamp on the south shore. They embarked early on the morning of the 15th, hoping to reach the portage of "Chatakouin" the same day, but an adverse wind again forced them to land.

The southern shore of the lake at this point is described as "extremely shallow, with no shelter from the force of the winds, involving great risk of shipwreck in landing, which is increased by large rocks, extending more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore." Céloron's canoe struck on one, and he would inevitably have been drowned, with all on board, had not prompt assistance been rendered. On the 16th at noon they arrived at the Chatakouin portage. This was an open roadstead, where the United States Government many years ago attempted unsuccessfully to construct a safe harbor. It is now known as Barcelona or Portland. As soon as all preparations were made for the overland passage, and the canoes all loaded, Mm. de Villiers and le Borgue were dispatched with fifty men to clear the way, while Céloron examined the situation of the place, in order to ascertain its fitness for the establishment of a Post. He says: "I found it ill-adapted for such a purpose, as well from its position as from its relation to the navigation of the lake. The water is so shallow that barks standing in cannot approach within a league of the portage. There being no island or harbor to which they could resort for shelter, they would be under the necessity of riding at anchor and discharging their loading by batteaux. The frequency of squalls would render it a place of danger. Besides, there are no Indian villages in the vicinity. In fact, they are quite distant, none being nearer than Ganaougon and Paille Coupée. In the evening Mm. de Villiers and le Borgue returned to lodge at the camp, having cleared the way for about three-quarters of a league." Up to this time, the usual route of the French to the Missis-

sippi had been by the way of Detroit, Green Bay, the Wisconsin, Lake Michigan and the Illinois river. They had five villages on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Illinois, as early as 1749.

"On the 17th," continues the Journal, "at break of day, we began the portage, the prosecution of which was vigorously maintained. All the canoes, provisions, munitions of war, and merchandise intended as presents to the Indians bordering on the Ohio, were carried over the three-quarters of a league which had been rendered passable the day previous. The route was exceedingly difficult, owing to the numerous hills and mountains which we encountered. All my men were very much fatigued. We established a strong guard, which was continued during the entire campaign, not only for the purpose of security, but for teaching the Canadians a discipline which they greatly needed. We continued our advance on the 14th, but bad weather prevented our making as much progress as on the preceding day. I consoled myself for the delay, as it was caused by a rain which I greatly desired, as it would raise the water in the river sufficient to float our loaded canoes. On the 19th, the rain having ceased, we accomplished half a league. On the 20th and 21st we continued our route with great diligence, and arrived at the end of the portage on the banks of Lake Chatacoin on the 22d. The whole distance may be estimated at four leagues. Here I repaired my canoes and recruited my men."

It is a little over eight miles in a direct line from the mouth of Chautauqua Creek on Lake Erie to the head of Chautauqua Lake. The route taken by the expedition would of course be more, and probably equal to the four leagues, or ten miles, stated by Céloron. The difficulties they encountered must have been exceedingly formidable. Chautauqua Lake is 726 feet above Lake Erie, and in order to reach the water-shed between the two lakes, an ascent of at least one thousand feet had to be overcome. Although at that early day, when the forests were yet undisturbed, the Chautauqua Creek flowed with fuller banks than now, yet even then but little use could be made of it by loaded canoes, except near its mouth. The portage could only be accomplished for the greater part of the way by carrying the canoes, baggage, provisions and supplies on the shoulders of the men up the steep mountain sides to the summit, from which the waters flowed southward into Chautauqua Lake. Looking back from this elevation, a magnificent panorama must have presented itself to Céloron and his companions. Lake Erie lay at their feet, with the Canada shore, forty miles distant, in plain sight, while the extremities of that great inland sea, extending east and west, were lost below the horizon.

The expedition did not loiter long on the banks of Chautauqua Lake. On the 23d they launched their bark flotilla on its clear, cool waters, and paddling south-eastward through the lake, passed the narrows at what are now known as Long and Bemus Points. The shape of the lake is quite peculiar. Its northwestern and southeastern extremities, which are nearly equal, and comprise the greater part of the lake, are connected by two short irregular straits, between which nestles a small beautiful bay. The singular configuration of the whole gives plausibility to the interpretation of the Indian name, Chautauqua, which is said to signify "a sack tied in the middle."

On the evening of the 23d of July the expedition encamped on shore within three miles of the outlet. The lake is stated by Céloron to be "nine leagues," or about twenty-two miles long. The actual length is less than sixteen. Distances are almost always overstated by the early French voyageurs in America. In the evening a party of Indians, who had been engaged during the day in fishing in the lake, reported they had seen the enemy watching them from the adjacent forest. They had fled as soon as discovered. Early on the morning of the 24th the expedition entered the outlet, a narrow stream, winding through a deep morass, bordered by a tall forest, which, over-arching the way, almost shut out the light of day. The water being found quite low, in order to lighten the canoes, they sent the greater part of their loading about three-quarters of a league by land, over a path pointed out by the *Sieur de Saussaye*, who was acquainted with the country.* The distance they accomplished this day by water did not exceed half a league. It probably carried them through the swamp as far as the high land in the neighborhood of the present village of Jamestown. The next day, before resuming their march, Céloron deemed it expedient to convene a council to consider what should be done in view of the evident signs of an enemy in the vicinity, who on being discovered had abandoned their canoes and effects and fled, carrying the alarm to the adjacent village of *Paille Coupée*. The council decided to dispatch Lieutenant *Joncaire*, some *Abenakis* and three *Iroquois*, with three belts, to assure the fugitives of the friendly object of the expedition. After the departure of the embassy the march was resumed over the rapids, with which the outlet abounded.

"We proceeded," says the *Journal*, "about a league with great difficulty. In many places I was obliged to assign forty men to each canoe to facilitate their passage. On the 26th and 27th we continued our voyage not without many obstacles; notwithstanding all our precautions to

guard our canoes, they often sustained great injury by reason of the shallow water. On the 29th at noon I entered the '*la Belle Rivière*.' I buried a plate of lead at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo (Ohio) and of the Chanougon, not far from the village of Kanaouagon, in latitude $42^{\circ} 5' 23''$." It is unnecessary to give a copy of the inscription on the above plate, as it is similar to the one which was sent to Governor Clinton, as before related, except slight variations in the spelling, accents and arrangement of lines. The three plates which thus far have been discovered present the same differences. The places and dates of deposit are coarsely engraved, evidently with a knife. In the one just described the blanks were filled with the words: "Au confluent de l'Ohio et Kanaaiagon, le 29 Juillet."

"At the confluence of the Ohio and Kanaaiagon the 29th of July."

The river, spelled "Kanaaiagon" on the plate, "Chanougon" by Céloron in his Journal, and "Kananouangon," on Bonnecamps' map, is a considerable stream that rises in western New York, and after receiving the Chautauqua outlet as a tributary, empties into the Alleghany just above the village of Warren. It is now known as the Conewango. On the site of Warren, at the northwesterly angle of the two rivers, there was, at the time of Céloron's visit, an Indian village, composed principally of Senecas, with a few Loups, bearing the name of Kanaouagon. It was opposite the mouth of the Conewango, on the south bank of the Alleghany, that the leaden plate was buried. The following is Father Bonnecamps' entry in his diary:

"L'on a enterré une lame de plomb, avec une inscription, sur la rive méridionale de cette rivière, et vis-a-vis le confluent des deux rivières."

"We buried a leaden plate bearing an inscription on the south bank of this river, and opposite the confluence of the two rivers."

The place of deposit is a little differently described in the Procès Verbal drawn up on the occasion. "*Au pied d'un chêne rouge, sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Ohio, et vis-a-vis la pointe d'une îlette. où se joignent les deux rivières Ohio et Kanaougon.*" "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers Ohio and Kanaougon." It will be noticed that the inscription on the plate recites that it was buried on the south side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the "Chanougon" (Conewango).

This presents a discrepancy between the inscriptions as given in the Journals of Céloron and Bonnecamps, and the one on the plate forwarded by Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton in 1751 as above described.

The latter states it to have been buried "at the confluence of the Ohio and *Tchadakoin*." The solution of the difficulty seems to be, that the latter plate was *never buried or used*, but was abstracted by the Iroquois friendly to the English, and another plate, having a correct inscription, was substituted by the French. The inscription on the one sent to Governor Clinton, was undoubtedly prepared on the supposition that the Chautauqua outlet emptied into the Ohio. But when that outlet was found to be a tributary of the Conewango, and that the latter emptied into the Ohio, a corrected plate, containing the name of the Conewango instead of the Chautauqua, was substituted and buried, as stated in Céleron's journal.* The latter plate has never been found. This solution is strengthened by the fact that none of the accounts of the plate sent to Governor Clinton state that it had been *buried*, or had been *dug up*. The Cayuga Sachem, in his speech quoted in Colonel Johnson's letter of December 4th, 1750, states that "the Senecas got it by *some artifice* from Jean Coeur."

Governor Clinton, in his letter to the Lords of Trade, states that some of the upper nations; which include the Senecas, "stole it from Jean Coeur, the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio." The Governor states the same in substance in his letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania. The theft must therefore have occurred while the expedition was on its way to the Ohio, and before any of the plates were buried. The original plate was probably soon after carried to England by Governor Clinton. The names "Chatacoin" and "Chatakouin," as spelled by Céleron in his journal, and "Tchadakoin," as inscribed on the plate, and "Tjadakoin," as spelled by Bonnacamps on his map, are all variations of the modern name Chautauqua. It will be found differently written by several early authors. Pouchot writes it "Shatacoin;" Lewis Evans, 1758, "Jadachque;" Sir William Johnson, "Jadaghque;" Mitchell, 1755, "Chadocoin;" Alden, as pronounced by Cornplanter, "Chaud-dauk-wā." It is a Seneca name, and in the orthography of that nation, according to the system of the late Reverend Asher Wright, long a missionary among them, and a fluent speaker of their language, it would be written "Jāh-dāh-gwāh," the first two vowels being long and the last short. Different significations have been ascribed to the word. It is said to mean "The place where a child was swept away by the waves." The late Dr. Peter Wilson, an educated Seneca, and a graduate of Geneva Medical College, told the writer that it signified literally, "where the fish was taken out."

He related an Indian tradition connected with its origin. A party of

Senecas were returning from the Ohio to Lake Erie. While paddling through Chautauqua Lake, one of them caught a strange fish and tossed it into his canoe. After passing the portage into Lake Erie, they found the fish still alive, and threw it in the water. From that time the new species became abundant in Lake Erie, where one was never known before. Hence, they called the place where it was caught, Jah-dah-gwäh, the elements of which are Gă-joh, "fish," and Ga-dah-gwäh, "taken out." By dropping the prefixes, according to Seneca custom, the compound name "Jah-dah-gwäh" was formed. Among other significations which have been assigned to the word, but without any authority, may be mentioned "The elevated place," and "The foggy place," in allusion, probably, to the situation of the lake, and the mists which prevail on its surface at certain seasons.

It will be noticed the Alleghany is called by Céleron the Ohio, or "La Belle Rivière." This is in accordance with the usage of all early French writers since the discovery of the river by LaSalle. The same custom prevailed among the Senecas. They have always considered the Alleghany as the Ohio proper. If you ask a Seneca his name for that river, he will answer O-hée-yuh. If you ask him its meaning, he will give it as "Beautiful river."

Mr. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, supposing the word to be of Delaware origin, endeavors to trace its etymology from several words, signifying in that language, "The white foaming river." The late Judge Hall of Cincinnati adopted the same derivation. Neither of them seem to have been aware that it is a *genuine Seneca word*, derived from that nation by the French, and by the latter written "Ohio." Its pronunciation by a Frenchman would exactly represent the word as spoken by a Seneca, the letter "i" being sounded like e. The name "Ohio" was, therefore, correctly inserted on the plates buried on the banks of the Alleghany, above its junction with the Monongahela at Pittsburgh.

At the time the plate was interred opposite the mouth of the Conewango, as already narrated, all the officers and men of the expedition being drawn up in battle array, the chief in command proclaimed in a loud voice, "Vive le Roi," and that possession was now taken of the country in the name of the King. The royal arms were affixed to a neighboring tree, and a *Procès Verbal* was drawn up and signed as a memorial of the ceremony. The same formality was adopted at the burial of each succeeding plate. This *procès verbal* was in the following form, and in each instance was signed and witnessed by the officers present:

"L'an, 1749, nous Céloron, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine Commandant un détachement envoyé par les ordres de M. le Marquis de Galissonnière, Commandant General en Canada, dans la Belle Rivière accompagné des principaux officiers de notre détachement, avons enterré (Here was inserted the place of deposit.) une plaque de plomb, et fait attacher dans le même lieu, à un arbre, les Armes du Roi. En foy de quoi, nous avons dressé et signé, avec M. M. les officiers, le présent Procès verbal à notre camp, le (day of the month) 1749." "In the year 1749 we, Céloron, Chevalier of the Royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissonnière, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in presence of the principal officers of our detachment, have buried (Here was inserted the place of deposit) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers, the present Procès verbal, at our camp, the (day of the month) 1749." This method of asserting sovereignty over new territory is peculiar to the French, and was often adopted by them. La Salle, at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, thus proclaimed the dominion of *Louis le Grand*, and more recently the same formality was observed when a French squadron took possession of some islands in the Pacific Ocean.

A few miles from Kanaouagon, on the right bank of the Alleghany, just below its junction with the Brokenstraw Creek, was the Indian village of "Paille Coupée," or Cut Straw, the name being given by Céloron as *Kachuiodagon*, occupied principally by Senecas. The English name, "Broken Straw," and the French name, *Paille Coupée*, were both probably derived from the Seneca name, which is De-ga-syo-noh-dyah-goh, which signifies literally, broken straw. *Kachuiodagon*, as given by Céloron, and *Koshenunteagunk*, as given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, and the Seneca name, are all three the same word in different orthography, the variation in the first two being occasioned by the difference between the French and English mode of spelling the same Indian word. Father Bonnecamps states the village to be in latitude 41° 54' 3" and in longitude 79° 13' west of Paris.

While the expedition was resting in the vicinity of these two Indian villages, a council was held with the inhabitants, conducted by Joncaire, whom Céloron states had been adopted by the Senecas, and possessed great influence and power over them. They addressed him in the council as "our child Joncaire." He was probably the person of that name met by Washington at Venango four years afterwards,* and a son of

the Joncaire mentioned by Charlevoix as living at Lewiston on the Niagara in 1721, "who possessed the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." The father, who was a captive, died in 1740, leaving two half-breed sons, who seem to have inherited his influence and distinction. Their names were Chabert Joncaire, Junior, and Philip Clauzonne de Joncaire. Both were in the French service, and brought reinforcements from the west to Fort Niagara at the time it was besieged by Sir William Johnson in 1759. Their names are affixed to the capitulation which took place a few days later. The former was in command of Fort Schlosser, his brother, who was a captain in the marine, being with him. They were both in the expedition of Céloron.

The result of the council held by Joncaire was not satisfactory to the French. It was very evident there was a strong feeling among the Indians on the Alleghany in favor of the English. It did not, however, prevent the French from descending the river. After pledging the Senecas in a cup of "Onontios milk" (brandy), the expedition left the villages of Kanaouagon and Paille Coupée on the first day of August, and after proceeding about four leagues below the latter, reached a village of Loups and Renards, composed of ten cabins. The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munseys. Four or five leagues farther down they passed another small village, consisting of six cabins, and on the third of August another of ten cabins. The next was a village on the "Rivière aux Boeufs." According to Father Bonnecamps, they passed between Paille Coupée and the Rivière aux Boeufs one village on the left and four on the right, the latitude of the third on the right being $41^{\circ} 30' 30''$, and the longitude $79^{\circ} 21'$ west of Paris. The Rivière aux Boeufs is now known as French Creek, it having been so called by Washington on his visit there in 1753. The English named it Venango. A fort was built by the French in 1753-4 on its western bank, sixty rods below its junction with the Alleghany, called Fort Machault. In 1760, when the English took possession, they built another, forty rods higher up, and nearer the mouth of French Creek, which they called Fort Venango. In 1787 the United States Government sent a force to protect the settlers, and built a fort on the south bank of the creek, half a mile above its mouth, which was called Fort Franklin. From all of which it appears that this was at an early day an important point on the river. It is now the site of the flourishing village of Franklin. At the time of Céloron's visit the Indian village numbered about ten cabins.

After passing the Rivière aux Boeufs and another on the left, the expedition reached on the same day a bend in the river about nine miles below, on the left or eastern bank of which lay a large boulder, nearly twenty-two feet in length by fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were rude inscriptions, evidently of Indian workmanship, representing by various symbols the triumphs of the race in war and in the chase. It was regarded by the natives attached to the expedition as an "Indian God," and held in superstitious reverence. It was a well-known landmark, and did not fail to arrest the attention of the French. Céloron deemed it a favorable point at which to bury his second leaden plate. This was done with due form and ceremony, the plate bearing an inscription similar to that on the first, differing only in the date and designation of the place of deposit. Céloron's record is as follows: "Août 3me, 1749. Enterré une plaque de plomb sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Oyo, à 4 lieues, au dessous de la rivière aux boeufs, vis-a-vis une montagne pélé, et auprès d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossièrement gravées." "Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio river, four leagues below the river *Aux Boeufs*, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

Father Bonnacamps states the deposit to have been made *under* a large rock. An excellent view of the rock in question, with a fac-simile of the hieroglyphics on its face, may be found in Schoolcraft's work on the "Indian Tribes in the United States," Vol. VI, pp. 172. It was drawn by Captain Eastman of the U. S. Army while standing waist deep in the river, its banks being then nearly full. At the time of the spring and fall freshets the rock is entirely submerged. The abrasion of its exposed surface by ice and flood-wood in winter has almost obliterated the rude carvings. At the time of Céloron's visit it was entirely uncovered. It is called "Hart's rock" on Hutchings' Topographical Map of Virginia. The distance of "four leagues" from the mouth of the river *Aux Boeufs*, or French Creek, to the rock, as given by Céloron, is, as usual, a little exaggerated. The actual distance by the windings of the river is about nine miles. The league as used by Céloron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a half. The leaden plate deposited at this point has never been found, and some zealous antiquarian living in the vicinity might, from the record now given, be able to restore it to light, after a repose of more than a century and a quarter.

From this station Céloron sent Joncaire forward to Attigué the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian set-

tlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues farther down, containing twenty-two cabins. Before reaching Attigué they passed a river three or four leagues from the Aux Boeufs, the confluence of which with the Alleghany is described as "very beautiful," and a league farther down another, having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois.

Attigué was probably on or near the Kiskiminitas river, which falls into the south side of the Alleghany about twenty-five miles above Pittsburgh. It is called the river d'Attigué by Montcalm, in a letter dated in 1758.¹⁰ There were several Indian villages on its banks at that date. They reached Attigué on the sixth, where they found Joncaire waiting. Embarking together they passed on the right an old "Chaouanons" (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis de Beauharnois. Leaving Attigué the next day, they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which, except three Iroquois, and an old woman who was regarded as a Queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chiningué. This village of the Loups, Céloron declares to be the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburgh. The description of the place, like many given by Céloron, is so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty. The clear, bright current of the Alleghany, and the sluggish, turbid stream of the Monongahela, flowing together to form the broad Ohio, their banks clothed in luxuriant summer foliage, must have presented to the voyagers a scene strikingly picturesque, one which would hardly have escaped the notice of the chief of the expedition. If, therefore, the allusion to "the finest place on the river" has no reference to the site of Pittsburgh, then no mention is made of it whatever. On landing three leagues farther down, they were told by some of their Indians that they had passed a rock on which were some inscriptions. Father Bonnecamps and Joncaire, who were sent to examine it, reported nothing but some English names written in charcoal. This was near the second *entrepôt* of the English.

Their camp being only two leagues above Chiningué, they were enabled to reach the latter the next day. They found the village one of the largest on the river, consisting of fifty cabins of Iroquois, Shawnees and Loups; also Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains, with some Nippissingues, Abenakis and Ottawas. Bonnecamps estimated the number of cabins at eighty, and says, "we called it

Chiningué, from its vicinity to a river of that name." He records its latitude as $40^{\circ} 35' 10''$ which is nearly correct, and longitude as $80^{\circ} 19'$. The place was subsequently known as "Logstown," a large and flourishing village which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after this period. Colonel Croghan, who was sent to the Ohio Indians by Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in August 1749, mentions in his journal that "Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers, had passed through Logstown just before his arrival." Croghan inquired of the inhabitants the object of the expedition, and was told by them that "it was to drive the English away, and by burying iron plates, with inscriptions on them at the mouth of each remarkable creek, to steal away their country."

On reaching Chiningué Céloron found several English traders established there, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6th, 1749, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties, and hoped the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future. De Céloron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that "he was on his way down the Ohio to whip home the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English." They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that "to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves, and expecting him to live." The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarrass the movements of de Céloron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him farther than Chiningué. They destroyed the plates which, bearing the arms of the French King, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty.

After leaving Chiningué, they passed two rivers, one on either side, and crossing the present boundary line between Pennsylvania and Ohio, reached the river Kanououara early on the 13th. Here they interred the third leaden plate, with the usual inscription and customary ceremonies. The blank in the plate was filled as follows: "*Enterré à l'entrée de la rivière, et sur la rive Septentrionale de Kanououara, qui se décharge à l'est de la rivière Oyo.*" "Buried at the mouth and on the north bank of the river Kanououara, which empties into the easterly side of the Ohio river." Neither Céloron nor Bonnecamps gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site. The plate was probably buried on the northerly bank of Wheeling Creek, at its junction with the Ohio, in the present State of

Virginia, and near where Fort Henry was subsequently built in 1774. No vestige of the plate has been discovered so far as known.

The expedition resumed its voyage on the 14th, passing the mouths of three streams, two on the left and one on the right. Deer abounded along the banks. Two of the rivers are stated to be strikingly beautiful at their junction with the Ohio. On the 15th they arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum, called by Father Bonnecamps Yenanguá-konnan, and encamped on the shore. Here the fourth leaden plate was buried on the right bank of that river, at its junction with the Ohio. Céloron describes the place of deposit as follows: "*Enterre au pied d'un érable, qui forme trépied avec une chêne rouge et un orme, à l'entrée de la rivière Yenanguákonan, sur la rive occidentale de cette rivière.*" "Buried at the foot of a maple, which forms a triangle with a red oak and elm, at the mouth of the river Yenanguakonnan, and on its western bank."

In 1798, half a century later, some boys, who were bathing at the mouth of the Muskingum, discovered something projecting from the perpendicular face of the river bank, three or four feet below the surface. With the aid of a pole they loosened it from its bed, and found it to be a leaden plate, stamped with letters in an unknown language. Unaware of its historic value, and being in want of lead, then a scarce article in the new country, they carried it home and cast a part of it into bullets. News of the discovery of so curious a relic having reached the ears of a resident of Marietta, he obtained possession of it, and found the inscription to be in French. The boys had cut off quite a large part of the inscription, but enough remained to indicate its character. It subsequently passed into the hands of Caleb Atwater, the historian, who sent it to Governor De Witt Clinton. The latter presented it to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in the library of which it is now deposited. A poor fac-simile of the fragment is given in Hildreth's Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley, at page 20. It appears to have been substantially the same as the other plates which have been discovered, with the exception of a different arrangement of the lines. The place of deposit is given as "*rivière Yenangue*" on the part of the plate which was rescued from the boys. Mr. Atwater, Gov. Clinton and several historians, misled by the similarity between the names "Yenangué" and "Venango," supposed that it had originally been deposited at Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek in Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Muskingum, and had been carried down by a freshet, or removed

by some party to the place where it was discovered. The Journal of de Céloron removes all doubt on the subject, and conclusively establishes the fact that the plate was originally deposited where it was found, on the site where old Fort Harmer was subsequently built, and opposite the point where the village of Marietta is now situated.

After the deposit of the fourth plate was completed, the expedition broke up their forest camp, embarked in their canoes, and resumed the descent of the river. About three-fourths of a mile below the Muskingum, Father Bonnecamps took some observations, and found the latitude to be $39^{\circ} 36'$, and the longitude $81^{\circ} 20'$ west of Paris. They accomplished twelve leagues on the 16th, and on the 17th, embarking early, they passed two fine rivers, one on each side, the names of which are not given. On the 18th, after an early start, they were arrested by the rain at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is called by Father Bonnecamps "Chinodaichta." The bank of this large stream, flowing from the southeast, and draining an extensive territory, was chosen for the deposit of the fifth plate. Only a brief record of the ceremony is given. A copy of the inscription is omitted by Céloron, but his record of the interment of the plate is as follows: "*Enterrée au pied d'un orme, sur la rive meridionale de l'Oyo, et la rive orientale de Chinondaista, le 18 Août, 1749.*" "Buried at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio, and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the 18th day of August, 1749."

Fortunately the discovery of the plate in March, 1846, leaves no doubt of the inscription. It was found by a boy while playing on the margin of the Kenawha river. Like that at the mouth of the Muskingum, it was projecting from the river bank, a few feet below the surface. Since the time it was buried, an accumulation of soil had been deposited above it by the annual river freshets for nearly one hundred years. The day of the deposit, as recorded on the plate, corresponds precisely with the one stated by de Céloron. The spelling of the Indian name of the river differs slightly from the Journal, that on the plate being "Chinodahichetha." Kenawha, the Indian name of the river in another dialect, is said to signify "The river of the woods." The place selected by Céloron for the interment of the plate must have been one of surpassing beauty. The native forest, untouched by the pioneer, and crowned with the luxuriant foliage of Northern Kentucky, covered the banks of both rivers, and the picturesque scenery justified the name of "Point Pleasant," which was afterwards bestowed by the early settlers. On the 16th day of October, 1774, it became the scene of a bloody

battle between an army of Virginians, commanded by Colonel Lewis, and a large force of western Indians, under the leadership of the celebrated Cornstalk, Logan and others, in which the latter were defeated."

The expedition was detained at this point by the rain. It re-embarked on the 20th, and when they had proceeded about three leagues, Father Bonnecamps took the latitude and longitude, which he records at $38^{\circ} 39' 57''$ for the former, and $82^{\circ} 01'$ for the latter. Joncaire was sent forward the next day with two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis and two Abenakis, to propitiate the inhabitants of "St. Yotoc," a village they were now approaching. They embarked early on the morning of the 22d, and reached St. Yotoc the same day. This village was composed of Shawnees, Iroquois, Loups, and Miamis, and Indians from the Sault St. Louis, Lake of the Two Mountains, as well as representatives from nearly all the nations of the "upper country." The name "St. Yotoc" seems to be neither French nor Indian. It is probably a corruption of Scioto. Father Bonnecamps calls it "Sinhoto" on his map. He records the latitude of the south bank of the Ohio, opposite its mouth, at $38^{\circ} 50' 24''$, and the longitude $82^{\circ} 22'$. Pouchot, in his "*Mémoires sur la dernière guerre*," French edition, vol. III. page 182, calls the river "Sonhioto." This village of St. Yotoc, or Scioto, was probably on the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Scioto, now the site of Alexandria. Its principal inhabitants were Shawnees.

The expedition remained here until the 26th of August. On the 27th they proceeded as far as the rivière La Blanche, or White river, which they reached at ten at night. On the bank of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of this river, Bonnecamps found the latitude to be $39^{\circ} 12' 01''$, and the longitude $83^{\circ} 31'$. Embarking on the 30th, they passed the great north bend of the Ohio, and reached the rivière à la Roche, now known as the Great Miami. Here their voyage on the Ohio ended, and they turned their little fleet of bark gondolas northward into the channel of its great tributary.

The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place. The text of Céloron's Journal reads as follows:—"Enterrée sur la pointe formée par la rive droite de l'Ohio, et la rive gauche de la rivière à la Roche, Août 31, 1749." "Buried on the point formed by the intersection of the right bank of the Ohio, with the left bank of the Rock river, August 31, 1749." So far as known, this plate has never been discovered. Céloron calls the Great Miami the Rivière à la Roche, and Pouchot, quoted above, and other French writers give it the same name.

The expedition left its encampment at the mouth of this river on the

first day of September, and began the toilsome ascent of the stream, now greatly diminished by the summer drought. On the 13th they arrived at "Demoiselles," which Father Bonnecamps, with his constant companion the Astrolabe, found to be in latitude $40^{\circ} 23' 12''$, and longitude $83^{\circ} 29'$. This was the residence of La Demoiselle, a chief of a portion of the Miamis who were allies of the English.¹⁴ The fort and village of La Demoiselle were mentioned by M. de Longueil in 1752. It was probably situated on what was afterwards known as Loramies Creek, the earliest point of English settlement in Ohio. It became quite noted in the subsequent history of the Indian wars, and was destroyed by General Clark in his expedition of 1782. A fort was built on the site several years afterwards by General Wayne, which he named Fort Loramie. Here the French remained a week to recruit, and prepare for the portage to the Maumee. Having burned their canoes, and obtained some ponies, they set out on their overland journey. In arranging for the march, M. de Céloron took command of the right, and M. de Contrecoeur of the left. The distance was estimated by Céloron as fifty leagues, and five and a half days were allotted for its accomplishment.¹⁵

They completed the portage on the 25th, and arrived at Kiskakon. This appears to be the Indian name for the site of Fort Wayne, which was built there in 1794. Céloron found it a French post, under the command of M. de Raymond. It undoubtedly took the name of Kiskakon, from a branch of Ottawas that removed to this place from Missillimackinac, where they had resided as late as 1682. It was here that de Céloron provided pirogues and provisions for the descent of the Maumee to Lake Erie. The Miami Chief "Pied Froid," or Coldfoot resided in the village. He appears not to have been very constant in his allegiance either to the French or the English.

Leaving Kiskakon on the 27th of September, a part of the expedition went overland to Detroit, and the remainder descended the river by canoe. The latter landed near Detroit on the 6th of October. Having renewed his supplies and canoes for the transportation of his detachment, Céloron prepared for the return to Montreal by way of Lake Erie. His Indian allies, as usual, occasioned some delay. They had stopped at the mouth of the Maumee, and were overcome by a drunken debauch on the white man's fire water. It was not until the 8th of October that the party finally launched their canoes, and descended the river into Lake Erie. Their first night was spent on its northern shore at Point Pellée. Nothing worthy of note occurred during their traverse of the lake. They reached Fort Niagara on the 19th, where they remained three

days. Leaving there on the 22d, they coasted the south shore of Lake Ontario, and arrived at Fort Frontenac on the 6th of November, their canoes badly shattered by the autumnal gales, and their men greatly fatigued with the hardships of the voyage. They pushed on, however, with as little delay as possible to Montreal, which they reached on the 10th of October, having, according to the estimate of both de Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, traveled at least twelve hundred leagues.

Allusion has been made to the changes which took place in the Ohio Valley prior to the expedition of de Céloron. Those which have since occurred are no less remarkable. Both the French and the English continued equally determined to possess the country north of the Ohio. The former stretched a chain of posts from Niagara to the Mississippi, as a barrier against English encroachments, and to exclude the Indians from their influence and control. To counteract these demonstrations, Gist was sent by the Ohio Company in 1750 to survey its lands preliminary to their occupation and settlement. In 1753 Washington was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie to Venango and Le Boeuf on what proved to be a fruitless mission. A post was established the same year by the English at Pittsburgh, which was captured the next by the French, and called after the Marquis du Quesne. It was occupied by the latter until retaken by General Forbes in 1756.

This was followed the next year by an expedition under Washington, who at the age of twenty-two drew his maiden sword at the Great Meadows in an encounter with a detachment of French under Jumonville, which resulted in the death of the latter. Washington pushed on farther west, but the advance of the enemy with strong reinforcements compelled him to fall back to the Great Meadows, which he strengthened and fortified, under the significant name of Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by the French under Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, with a vigor inspired by the desire of avenging his brother's death. Washington was compelled to capitulate. The French were thus enabled to acquire complete control for the time being over the disputed territory. Thus was the opening scene in the great drama of the "Old French War" enacted. The disastrous defeat of Braddock followed the next year, and exposed the whole frontier to the hostile incursions of the French and Indians.

In 1759 the grand scheme for the conquest of Canada, conceived by the illustrious Pitt, was carried into execution. The expeditions of Amherst against Ticonderoga, Wolfe against Quebec, and Prideaux against Niagara, resulted in the fall of those important fortresses.

Major Rogers was sent to the Northwest in 1760 to receive possession of the French posts, which had been surrendered to the English by the capitulation of Quebec. He was met at Cuyahoga by Pontiac, the Ottawa, who forbade his farther progress. "I stand," says he, "in your path; you can march no farther without my permission." A friend to the French, a leader in the attack on Braddock, ambitious and vindictive, Pontiac was a chief of commanding intellect and well qualified for bold enterprises and strategic combinations. These qualities were indicated in his great conspiracy for the simultaneous capture of the ten principal posts in the Northwest, and the massacre of the English trading in their vicinity. Eight of those posts, embracing Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanon, Mackinaw, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango successively fell before the deep laid plans of the wily chieftain. Forts Pitt and Detroit successfully withstood the most vigorous assaults, and the latter a protracted siege conducted by Pontiac himself.

Now war in all its horrors raged with savage intensity along the entire frontier. The unprotected settlers, men, women and children, were massacred and scalped, or if spared, borne away into a hopeless captivity. The English colonists were aroused to meet the emergency, and Colonel Bouquet was sent in 1763 with a large force into the Indian territory to relieve the western posts, but was compelled to halt at Pittsburgh.

The succeeding spring found the Indians again on the war-path, and Detroit was invested for the second time by Pontiac. An expedition was sent to the Northwestern posts under Bradstreet, and another under Bouquet penetrated the interior of Ohio. Bradstreet was duped by his crafty adversaries into a peace not intended to be kept, but Bouquet, undecieved by similar artifices, pushed on to the heart of the Indian country. At the junction of the White Woman and Tuscarawas rivers he dictated a peace by his bold and energetic movements, which, with the exception of occasional outbreaks, was destined to last until the commencement of the great contest between the colonists and the mother country.

The treaty of 1783 left the western tribes without an ally, and the United States became free to extend the arts of peace over their new territory. The pioneers shouldered the axe and the rifle, and marching westward in solid column, invaded the land. The frail canoe and sluggish batteau, which had so long and wearily contended with the adverse currents of the Ohio, were soon replaced by the power of steam. The dense forests that for a thousand miles had fringed both borders of the

river were opened to the sunlight, and thriving cities and smiling villages arose on the ruins of the mound builders. The narrow trails of the Indian, deep worn for centuries by the tread of hunter and warrior, were now superseded by the iron rail and broad highway. The hardy emigrants and their descendants subdued the wilderness, and with the church, the school-house, the factory and the plough planted a civilization on the ruins of a fallen barbarism.

The dominion and power of France have disappeared, and no traces of her lost sovereignty exist, save in the few names she has left on the prominent streams and landmarks of the country, and in the leaden plates which, incised in her language and asserting her claims, still lie buried on the banks of the "Beautiful River."

O. H. MARSHALL

¹ This name is usually spelled Céleron, but incorrectly. M. Ferland, in his *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, vol. ii, p. 493, calls him Céloron de Blainville.

² Joncaire. ³ N. Y. Col. Doc., vi, p. 604.

⁴ The Indian name of Sir William Johnson. It signifies "Superintendent of Affairs."

⁵ V Penn. Col. Records, p. 508.

⁶ N. Y. Col. Doc., ix, p. 1097.

⁷ This observation, like most of those taken by Father Bonnecamps, is incorrect. Either his instruments were imperfect or his methods of computation erroneous. The true latitude of the mouth of the Conewango is less than $41^{\circ} 50'$, as it about twelve miles south of the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania.

⁸ On Crevecoeur's Map of 1758, in *Dépôts des Cartes, Ministère de la Guerre, Paris*, the Conewango is called the "Chatacouin" as far down as its junction with the Allegany.

⁹ Governor Clinton, in his address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, inquires if the Joncaire met by Charlevoix and Washington were the same. They could not have been, for the one mentioned by Charlevoix died in 1740.

¹⁰ N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 1025; X, ib., 901.

¹¹ N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, p. 267.

¹² N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, pp. 532-3.

¹³ See Vol. I. pp. 747, Magazine of American History.

¹⁴ N. Y. Col. Doc., X, pp. 139, 142, 245 and 247.

¹⁵ Major Long of the U. S. Army, in his second expedition to the St. Peter's River in 1823, traveled over the same route.

THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA

In the year 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne, four Indian chiefs' belonging to the Six Nations visited London, where they caused a great sensation. An account of these chiefs, who were styled kings, is given in a tract, the title of which is given below. We quote from the book:

"These four Princes, who are Kings of the Maquas, Gavajohhove and the River Sachem, are call'd, the first, *Te Yee Ho Ga Prow*; the second, *Saga Yean Qua Prah Ton*; the third, *Elow Oh Kaom*; the fourth, *Oh Nee Yeath Ton No Prow*, with the other two they mention in their Speech to her Majesty, are the six who possess all the nations on the North-West side of the Iroquois, up to the Lake Erie, and that great one of the Hurons; and as we have heard it from their own mouths, these six are in a strict alliance against the French, and at the same time are all unanimous to request the assistance of the Queen of Great Britain to drive the French out from among them. This is the great motive of their coming here, where they arrived the beginning of April last, being conducted over sea by Col. Nicholson, late Governor of Maryland; and on Wednesday, the 19th of April they had an audience of her Sacred Majesty, being introduc'd with the usual ceremonies due to sovereign heads, and their Embassadors, to whom they represented their condition, and the errand of their long and hazardous journey, by a speech, that even in the translation carries along with it something of natural eloquence and simplicity peculiar to that sort of people, who, tho' unpolish'd by art and letters, have a large share of good sense and natural reason."

Here follows the speech of one of the "Kings" to her Majesty, as delivered through an interpreter, who has so completely Anglicized it that it bears no resemblance to the usual Indian speeches. A small portion, therefore, is only given here:

"Great Queen.

"We have undertaken a long and tedious voyage, which none of our predecessors could ever be prevail'd upon to undertake. The motive that induc'd us was, that we might see our Great Queen, and relate to her those things we thought necessary for the good of her, and us her Allies on the other side of the great water.

"We doubt not but our Great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French; and that we have been a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best Men. The truth of which our Brother Queder, Colonel Schuyler, and Anadagarjau, Col. Nicholson can testify, they having all our Proposals in Writing.

"We were mightily rejoiced when we heard that our Great Queen had resolv'd to send an Army to reduce Canada, and we readily embrac'd our Great Queen's

Instructions: And in token of our Friendship, we hung up the Kettle, and took up the Hatchet, and with one consent join'd our Brother Queder, Col. Schuyler, and Anadagarjaux, Col. Nicholson, in making Preparations on this side the Lake by building Forts, Store-houses, Canows, and Battows; whilst Col. Vetch, at the same time, raised an army at Boston, of which we were inform'd by our Embassadors, whom we sent hither for that purpose," etc., etc.

"After the audience," continues the narrative, "they were conducted again to their apartments in her Majesty's Coach, attended with Col. Nicholson and several Merchants belonging to that part of America. As to the persons of these Princes, they are well form'd, being of a stature neither too high nor too low, but all within an inch or two of six foot. Their habits are robust, and their limbs muscular and well shap'd; they are of brown complexions, their hair black and long, their visages are very awful and majestick, and their features regular enough, though something of the austere and sullen; and the marks with which they disfigure their faces do not seem to carry so much terror as regard with them They are generally affable to all that come to see them, and will not refuse a glass of brandy or strong liquors from any hands that offer it, but they seem to relish our fine pale ales before the best French wines from Burgundy or Champaign. According to the custom of their country, these Princes do not know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; nor are they subject to those indispositions our Luxuries bring upon us. They are not afflicted with gout, dropsy or gravel; and notwithstanding their intemperance here, they are not feverish upon any occasion, or troubl'd with loss of appetite; for in their own country they are addicted to gormandizing, insomuch that they rise in the night to eat; if by good luck they have meat by them, they fall to it without getting up. It is reported that these four Princes have been so inur'd to hunting and other sports, that they run as swift as a deer, and hold it a long time; so that they propose to run down a buck or stag before the Queen, when she pleases to see them in any of her parks or chaces. They are to tire down the deer, and catch him without gun, spear, lance, or any other weapon."

We next have the following chapters: 1. A Description of the Country of Canada. 2. Of the Religion of the Indians of Canada, &c. 3. The Manner of Feasting among the Canadans. 4. Of their Marriages. 5. Of their Manner of Interring their Dead. 6. Of the Remedies they administer to the Sick. 7. Of their Constitution, Temper and Manners. 8. Of their Habits and Cloathing. 9. Of their Games and Sports. 10. Of their making War and Peace. 11. Of their Manner of Hunting. 12. Of their Manner of Fishing. 13. Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Wigwams, &c. 14. Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country, with other remarkable Things.

Beside the account of these "Four Indian Kings" and of their visit



To Ye Tio Ho Ho Ho Emperor of the Six Nations
Emperor of the Six Nations
He is the most powerful and most respected of all the Nations of the Six Nations



To Ye Yeath Qua Pieth Tow King of the Ho-Nay-Way
King of the Ho-Nay-Way
He is the most powerful and most respected of all the Nations of the Ho-Nay-Way



Elon Oh Kowen King of the River Nation
King of the River Nation
He is the most powerful and most respected of all the Nations of the River Nation



No Nee Yeath Taw No Rotv King of the Generehgaroh
King of the Generehgaroh
He is the most powerful and most respected of all the Nations of the Generehgaroh

Instructions: And in token of our Friendship, we hung up the Kettle, and took up the Hatchet, and with one consent join'd our Brother Queder, Col. Schuyler, and Anadagarjau, Col. Nicholson, in making Preparations on this side the Lake by building Forts, Store-houses, Canows, and Battows; whilst Col. Vetch, at the same time, raised an army at Boston, of which we were inform'd by our Embassadors, whom we sent hither for that purpose," etc., etc.

"After the audience," continues the narrative, "they were conducted again to their apartments in her Majesty's Coach, attended with Col. Nicholson and several Merchants belonging to that part of America. As to the persons of these Princes, they are well form'd, being of a stature neither too high nor too low, but all within an inch or two of six foot. Their habits are robust, and their limbs muscular and well shap'd; they are of brown complexions, their hair black and long, their visages are very awful and majestic, and their features regular enough, though something of the austere and sullen; and the marks with which they disfigure their faces do not seem to carry so much terror as regard with them They are generally affable to all that come to see them, and will not refuse a glass of brandy or strong liquors from any hands that offer it, but they seem to relish our fine pale ales before the best French wines from Burgundy or Champagne. According to the custom of their country, these Princes do not know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; nor are they subject to those indispositions our Luxuries bring upon us. They are not afflicted with gout, dropsy or gravel; and notwithstanding their intemperance here, they are not feverish upon any occasion, or troubl'd with loss of appetite; for in their own country they are addicted to gormandizing, insomuch that they rise in the night to eat; if by good luck they have meat by them, they fall to it without getting up. It is reported that these four Princes have been so inur'd to hunting and other sports, that they run as swift as a deer, and hold it a long time; so that they propose to run down a buck or stag before the Queen, when she pleases to see them in any of her parks or chaces. They are to tire down the deer, and catch him without gun, spear, lance, or any other weapon."

We next have the following chapters: 1. A Description of the Country of Canada. 2. Of the Religion of the Indians of Canada, &c. 3. The Manner of Feasting among the Canadans. 4. Of their Marriages. 5. Of their Manner of Interring their Dead. 6. Of the Remedies they administer to the Sick. 7. Of their Constitution, Temper and Manners. 8. Of their Habits and Cloathing. 9. Of their Games and Sports. 10. Of their making War and Peace. 11. Of their Manner of Hunting. 12. Of their Manner of Fishing. 13. Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Wigwams, &c. 14. Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country, with other remarkable Things.

Beside the account of these "Four Indian Kings" and of their visit



Te Yee Nahn Tlo Ga Raro Emperor of the Six Nations
of the Six Nations and also of the surrounding tribes of the Six Nations



Te Ah Yeatho Qua Pieth Ton King of the Nagay
of the Nagay and also of the surrounding tribes of the Nagay



Lion Oh Kown King of the River Nation
of the River Nation and also of the surrounding tribes of the River Nation



No Nee Yeath Taw No Roro King of the Generethgarish
of the Generethgarish and also of the surrounding tribes of the Generethgarish

to London, a notice of the event will be found in *The Tatler*, No. 171; and in *The Spectator*, No. 50, April 27, 1711, with an extended note. For several years after the visit of these Indians it was common at masquerades to assume their characters and dresses. Full-length portraits, beautifully engraved in mezzotint, were published, of which we shall speak at length; and there was also issued a sheet ballad, an original copy of which is before us, relating how a beautiful lady fell in love with one these Indians. The following is a reprint of the ballad:

THE FOUR INDIAN KINGS

Part I

HOW A BEAUTIFUL LADY CONQUERED ONE OF THE INDIAN KINGS

Attend unto a true relation
Of four Indian Kings of late,
Who came to this Christian nation,
To report their sorrows great,
Which by France they had sustained
To the overthrow of trade;
That the seas might be regained;
Who are coming to beg our aid.
Having told their sad condition,
To our good and gracious Queen.
With a humble low submission,
Mixt with a courteous mien,
Nobly they were all received
In bold Britain's royal court.
Many lords and ladies grieved,
At these Indian King's report.
Now their message being ended,
To the Queen's great majesty;
They were further befriended
Of the noble standers by.
With a glance of Britain's glory,
Buildings, troops and many things;
But now comes a pressing story,
Love seized one of these four Kings.
Thus, as it was then related,
Walking forth to take the air,
In St. James's park there waited
Troops of handsome ladies fair,
Rich and gaudily attir'd,
Rubies, jewels, diamond rings.
One fair lady was admir'd
By the youngest of those Kings.
While he did his pain discover,
Often sighing to the rest;

Like a broken hearted lover
Oft he smote upon his breast.
Breaking forth in lamentation,
Oh! the pains that I endure!
The young ladies of this nation,
They are more than mortals sure.
In his language he related,
How her angel beauty bright
His great heart had captivated,
Ever since she appear'd in sight.
Tho' there are some fair and pretty,
Youthful, proper, strait and tall,
In this Christian land and city,
Yet she far excells them all.
Were I worthy of her favor,
Which is better far than gold,
Then I might enjoy for ever
Charming blessings manifold.
But I fear she cannot love me,
I must hope for no such thing;
That sweet saint is far above me,
Although I am an Indian King.
Let me sign but my petition
Unto that lady fair and clear:
Let her know my sad condition,
How I languish unto her.
If on me, after this trial,
She will no eye of pity cast,
But return a flat denial,
Friends I can but die at last.
If I fall by this distraction,
Thro' a lady's cruelty,
It is some satisfaction
That I do a martyr die.

Unto the goddess of great beauty,
 Brighter than the morning day :
 Sure no greater piece of duty,
 No poor captive love can pay.
 O, this fatal burning fever,
 Gives me little hopes of life,
 If so that I cannot have her
 For my love and lawful wife.
 Bear to her this royal token,
 Tell her 'tis my diamond ring ;
 Pray her that it mayn't be spoken,
 She'll destroy an Indian King,
 Who is able to advance her
 In our fine America ;

Let me soon receive an answer
 From her hand without delay.
 Every minute seems an hour,
 Every hour six, I'm sure ;
 Tell her it is in her power
 At this time to kill or cure.
 Tell her that you see me ready
 To expire for her sake,
 And as she's a Christian lady,
 Sure she will some pity take.
 I shall long for your returning
 From that pure unspotted dove,
 All the while I do lie burning,
 Wrapt in scorching flames of love.

Part II

THE LADY'S ANSWER TO THE INDIAN KING'S REQUEST

I will fly with your petition
 Unto that lady fair and clear,
 For to tell your sad condition,
 I will to her parents bear.
 Show her how you do adore her,
 And lie bleeding for her sake ;
 Having laid the cause before her,
 She perhaps may pity take.
 Ladies that are apt to glory
 In their youthful birth and state,
 So hear I'll rehearse the story
 Of their being truly great:
 So farewell, Sir, for a season,
 I'll will soon return again :
 If she's but endow'd with reason,
 Labour is not spent in vain.
 Having found her habitation,
 Which, with diligence he sought,
 Tho' renown'd in her station.
 She was to his presence brought
 Where he labour'd to discover
 How his lord and master lay,
 Like a pensive wounded lover
 By her charms the other day.
 As a token of his honour,
 He has sent this ring of gold,
 Set with diamonds. Save the owner,
 For his griefs are manifold.
 Life and Death are both depending
 On what answer you can give,
 Here he lies your charms commending.
 Grant him love that he may live.

You may tell your lord and master,
 Said the charming lady fair,
 Tho' I pity this disaster,
 Being catch'd in Cupid's snare.
 'Tis against all true discretion,
 To comply with what I scorn :
 He's a heathen by profession,
 I a Christian bred and born.
 Was he king of many nations,
 Crowns and royal dignity,
 And I born of mean relations,
 You may tell him that for me,
 As long as I have life and breathing
 My true God I will adore,
 Nor will ever wed a heathen,
 For the richest Indian store.
 I have had my education
 From my infant blooming youth,
 In this Christian land and nation,
 Where the blessed word and truth
 Is to be enjoyed with pleasure
 Among Christians mild and kind,
 Which is more than all the treasure
 Can be had with Heathen wild.
 Madam, let me be admitted
 Once to speak in his defence ;
 If he here then may be pity'd,
 Breath not forth such violence,
 He and all the rest were telling
 How well they lik'd this place ;
 And declared themselves right willing
 To receive the light of grace.

So then, lady, be not cruel,
 His unhappy state condole ;
 Quench the flame, abate the fuel,
 Spare his life and save his soul.
 Since it lies within your power
 Either to destroy or save,
 Send him word this happy hour
 That you'll heal the wound you gave.
 While the messenger he pleaded
 With this noble virtuous maid,
 All the words that she then minded
 Which his master he had said.

Then she spoke like one concerned,
 Tell your master this from me.
 Let him, let him thus be turned
 From his gross idolatry.
 If he will become a Christian,
 Live up to the truth reveal'd,
 I will make him grant the question,
 Or before will never yield.
 Altho' he was pleased to send me
 His fine ring and diamond stone,
 With this answer pray commend me
 To your master yet unknown.

The curious may see in the British Museum four beautiful pictures of these Indian chiefs in their peculiar dresses, and probably the representations they give are as faithful as they are elegant. There was an opinion that they were the figures of four Chinese Emperors, and some similarity in the names to those we meet with in the history of China favored the supposition. Indeed, no one, from the manner in which these names are written, would recognize them as appertaining to the North American Indians. On removal of the frames and the plate-glass placed before them, and which cover the inscriptions, they proved to be fine miniatures on ivory. Each chief carries his wampum in his hand, a pledge of the amity of the Six Nations, and their names correspond with those in the volume relating to the Indian Kings, as well as to those given in *The Tatler*, No. 171. Upon the back of these pictures is the following endorsement: "Drawn by the life, May 2, 1710, by Bernard Lens, jun."

By an advertisement in the folio edition of *The Tatler*, it appears that full-length portraits of the four Indian chiefs were painted by John Verelst, a Dutch painter of celebrity, then residing in London. It also appears that the paintings referred to were in the collection of Queen Anne. In the folio edition of *The Tatler*, May 16, 1710, Mr. Verelst gives notice that no person will be permitted "to take any draught or sketch" from his pictures; and that "if he should, he will take care to have it correctly done by a skilful hand, and to inform the public thereof in *The Tatler*." A year later, in *The Tatler*, November 14, 1710, appeared the following: "This is to give notice that the mezzotinto prints by John Simmonds, in whole lengths, of the four Indian Kings, that are done from the original pictures drawn by John Verelst, which her majesty has at her palace at Kensington, are now to be delivered to subscribers, and sold at the Rainbow and Dove in the Strand."

Besides the prints of Simmonds, there were it seems other prints,

said to have been taken from Verelst's original pictures, disowned by the painter, and represented in his advertisement as incorrect. All this goes to show the great sensation which the visit of the Indian chiefs created in London. The prints of Simmonds are engraved in mezzotint, large folio in size, and are now exceedingly rare. Two or three of them, defaced by time, hang in frames upon the walls of the American Antiquarian Society's Hall, in Worcester. There is also a set of proof impressions of the four in the collection of the late John Carter Brown, in Providence.¹

Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," gives some account of John under the name of Simon Verelst, and says he lived to a great age. "He was a Dutch flower-painter of capital excellence in that branch of art of painting, and likewise attempted portraits, labouring them exceedingly and finishing them with the same delicacy with his flowers. He was a real ornament to the reign of Charles II., and greatly lessened the employment of Sir Peter Lely, who retired to Kew, while Verelst engrossed the fashion." Verelst is also noticed by Bryan in his Dictionary of Painters. Simmonds, the engraver of the Indian Kings, who is also mentioned by Walpole, was pronounced "the best mezzotinto scraper of his time." He died in 1755.

J. R. BARTLETT

¹ The Four Kings of Canada. Being a Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes lately arrived from North America. With a particular description of their Country, their strange and remarkable Feasts, Marriages, Burials, Remedies for the Sick, Customs, Manners, Constitution, Habits, Sports, Wars, Peace, Policy, Hunting, Fishing, Utensils belonging to the Savages, with several other Extraordinary Things worthy Observation, as to the natural or curious Productions, Beauty, or Fertility of that Part of the World. LONDON. Printed and sold by John Baker, at the Black Boy in Pater-Noster Row. 1710.

² The plate which prefaces this sketch is taken from the proof impressions mentioned.

WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS

Columbus, returning from his fourth voyage in a vessel which was, like himself, much the worse for wear, arrived at Seville November 7th, 1504. Queen Isabella, his patroness, died at Medina del Campo on the 26th of the same month, and Ferdinand turned a deaf ear to the petitions of the great discoverer. Columbus repaired to court, but, weakened by toils and disease, died at Valladolid on Ascension Day, May 20th, 1506. His death was not even noticed in the *Cronicon de Valladolid*, a manuscript diary which records the most trivial events from 1333 to 1539, nor did Pedro Martir de Angleria, his friend, who had chronicled his discoveries minutely in his *Decades de Orbe Novo*, not then published, make any allusion to the closing life of a man who had been praised in his letters and narratives.¹

His remains, unaccompanied by any relative, unless, perhaps, by his eldest and natural son Fernando, were placed in the vaults of the Convent of St. Francisco; and if his wishes were followed, the chains which he had worn when sent home by Bovadilla in 1503 were enclosed with him in his burial case. In a small work by Antoine de Latour, entitled "*Valence et Valladolid*," Paris, 1877, p. 144, it is said, on we know not what authority, that his obsequies were celebrated in the small *église romane* of the Comte Ansures, but that his life-long friends, the Franciscans, seized upon his body. In 1513, probably by the directions of the brothers and sons, the remains were removed to Seville. Here they probably were encased in the leaden box which has recently been found in the cathedral church of Santo Domingo, with the inscriptions placed on the inside and outside which we give below.

Diego began, in 1506, a suit against the Crown, the details of which have been published by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in 1827, for a confirmation of the dignities and revenues promised solemnly to his father by several royal charters. In 1509 he succeeded in part, and became Second Admiral of the Indies, with certain allowances to maintain his rank. Having married Donna Maria de Toledo, a niece of the Duke of Alba, his suit was probably thereby favored, and he sailed for San Domingo in 1509, in great style, together with his uncles, Don Bartolomé (the Adelantado) and Don Diego, and his brother Don Fernando. Bartolomé was in Spain again, and returned to San Domingo in 1512. In 1515 Don Diego went to Spain to defend himself against

certain charges, and shortly after his departure his uncle Don Bartolomé died, and was probably the first one of the family interred in Santo Domingo.

Fernando returned to Spain in 1513, and in the autumn of that year superintended the removal of the Admiral's remains, as above mentioned. These were deposited in the *Capilla de Santa Ana*, known also as *del Santo Cristo*, which was on the middle of the right side of the entrance to the small church of the *Cartuja de Santa Maria de las Cuevas*. This was near by his own property, and his windows looked on the church, both being outside of the walls of the city and between the *Puerta de Goles* and *del Ingenio*. Fernando's grounds were planted with rare exotic trees, and he wished this estate to continue in the family, but it was sold about 1594, and no trace of his home remains. The church is now a pottery.

Diego, the Second Admiral, died at Montalvan, near Toledo, February 23d, 1526, and his body was the next one of the Colon family to be interred in the *Capilla*. Fernando died in Seville July 12th, 1539. He was buried in the cathedral in front of the choir, and a slab, several times renewed, covers his tomb, which apparently was not disturbed when the remains of his father and uncle were transported to Santo Domingo in 1536. Of Diego, brother of the discoverer, we have no notice after his departure for the Indies with his nephew of the same name. Thus, in 1536, but two bodies were removed from the chapel, namely, those of Christoval and his son Diego.

The Third Admiral in the line of succession was Luis Colon, born on the Island in 1520, a dissolute young man, who had married three wives, all being living. As long as he stayed in Santo Domingo he was safe, but having ventured to go to Spain on matters relating to the titles he bore, he was arrested at Valladolid in 1558, and tried for his offence against the marriage law. The facts concerning his arrest, his sentence, and his death in Oran, Africa, though in print, were contained in a memorial of a suit concerning the titles, &c., of the Colons, which began upon the death of Don Luis, of which very few copies are known. From this and other sources consulted in Seville, M. Henri Harrisse has been enabled to bring forward in his work on *Fernand Colomb*, of 1872, proofs that the so-called *Vita de Colon* of 1571, in Italian, is a fabrication and not truly written, as stated in its title, by Fernando. We thus learn that Luis Colon died February 3, 1572; that he was at first interred in the church of San Francisco in Oran, whence he was removed to Las Cuevas in Seville, and again to Santo Domingo.⁹

Harrisse, in the above work, p. 149, quotes a manuscript note found in the Colombina Library, and made by Juan de Loaisa, concerning a visit to Las Cuevas in 1678, thus: "In the chapel of Sta. Ana, as one enters the church on the right hand, at the middle of it, there is a spot which bears signs of having been a tomb, said to have contained the bodies of *Xptoval Colon*, first admiral of the Indies, and of *Diego Colon*, his eldest son, and *Bartolomé Colon*, brother of *D. Xptoval*. The bodies of *D. Xptoval* and his son *D. Diego* were taken to the Island of Sto. Domingo, and the monks say that there is no one of any note in that chapel." Harrisse found the walls of the chapel, now part of a pottery, without a trace of its ecclesiastical character left.

It appears, therefore, that the bodies of Christoval, Bartolomé and Diego, the three brothers, those of Diego the Second Admiral and of Luis the third and last Admiral, were together in the cathedral church in Santo Domingo about the year 1600. Probably the female members of the family who died in the Indies were interred there also. Roselly de Lorgues, in his "*Vie de Colomb*," 1856, p. 400, says that the body of the great Admiral was deposited in a vault in the sanctuary of the cathedral, to the right of the great altar. No inscription or monument marked his place of interment, and in the course of time no one attached to the cathedral seems to have preserved any tradition concerning its precise location.

Sir Francis Drake, or rather Christopher Carlisle, his Lieutenant-General, when he captured the city in 1585, allowed his men to pillage the part he held for a month, but wishing to get away, treated with the Governor, who ransomed it for 25,000 ducats. It has been stated that the cathedral records were lost at that time, which would account for the oblivion which prevails there concerning the remains of the Colons. Hakluyt (ed. 1500, p. 540) describes this event, but no mention is made of the cathedral.

By the Treaty of Basle, signed July 24th, 1795, Spain ceded the Spanish part of the Island to France, reserving the right to remove all property that might be desired, and it was determined, consequently, to transfer the remains of Columbus to Havana. Details concerning this removal are given by Irving and others, and in the papers recently written on this subject, as well as in the pamphlet quoted below, all which we may pass over as not pertinent to the question now raised, namely, "*Were the remains taken away from Santo Domingo really those of Christopher Columbus?*"

When the remains were sought for it seems that no one could point

out their exact place of interment. Roselly de Lorgues, in his "*Vie de Colomb*," first edition, 1856, Vol. II., p. 400, gives to Moreau de St. Méry the credit of finding them. He quotes from the *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, tom. IX., p. 342, Première Série, as follows: "*Il retrowa dans une église de Santo-Domingo le tombeau de Christophe Colomb dont les habitants du pays ignoraient l'existence.*" Moreau de St. Méry, who published a description of the French portion of the Island in French, at Philadelphia, in two quarto volumes, 1797-8, and the Laws and Constitutions of the Franco-American Colonies in Paris, in six quarto volumes, in 1784, was a native of Martinique, born in 1750. He was at one time quite wealthy, and prepared the last-named work at the request of Louis XVI. He was a deputy from Martinique in 1790, took refuge in the United States in 1793, and while carrying on business as a bookseller in Philadelphia, published the other named work. He filled various offices under the Empire, and died in 1819. It must have been during one of his visits to the Islands that he pointed out the supposed remains of Columbus; but that he was deceived there can be no doubt. There must have been some record of the disinterment in 1795, but it is again said that the records had been destroyed, and we can find no printed notice relating to it except as above, even in the work of De Saint-Méry. Let us now see whether the true remains have been found.

The article in *La Patria*, reprinted in the Pamphlet, *Colon en Quisqueya*,⁷ after describing the ceremonies and pomp attending the transfer of the remains in 1795, says that a rumor was current among a few discreet persons that the Spanish authorities had been deceived, and that the remains of Don Diego, the son of the First Admiral, or of some other member of the family, had been passed off as those of Christopher Columbus. It then adds that the last one who held this precious tradition as a fact, was the distinguished and learned Dominican Don Tomas Bobadilla, who transmitted it with profound conviction (sic) to Sr. Don Carlos Nouel. We are assured (the author of the article continues) that Sr. Don Juan N. Tejera also was certain of the fact.

Recently the works begun in the Cathedral, under the initiative of the Sr. Presbitero Bellini, accidentally exposed the remains of Don Luis Colon, as published in the papers in July, 1877. Further research at another spot, on the right of the *Presbiterio*, under the place occupied by the episcopal chair, a point designated by the tradition above mentioned, as the true location of the remains of Columbus, resulted in finding in a vault. By the removal of a few stones a leaden box was discovered, which bore an inscription confirming the tradition, which probably was, as hinted before, a positive certainty.

The extraction of this leaden case, and its opening officially in the presence of invited witnesses, is given in much detail in the publication quoted. It is of lead, with a hinged cover, but the document does not state how it was closed, and is forty-two centimetres ($16\frac{5}{8}$ inches) long, twenty and a half ($8\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide), and twenty-one ($8\frac{1}{2}$ inches) deep, with the following inscriptions. On the outside of the cover, D. de la A. Per. Ate. On the left, front and right of the box respectively are the letters C. C. and A. On the inside of the cover, in *letras góticas alemanas*, or German black letter, *Utre y Esdo. Varon Du Cristoval Colon*. The case contained twenty-eight large and thirteen small fragments of human bones, some dust from bones, a leaden ball, weighing one ounce, and two small screws of the case itself. The case, after being examined, was closed and officially sealed, and deposited in the Santuario de Regina Angelorum under the charge and responsibility of the Señor Canonigo Penitenciario Dom Francesco Javier Bellini, until further orders. A solemn procession accompanied the remains to the said church, and the official report of the proceedings was signed by various officers of the church, the city, of the foreign consulates and other witnesses. Mr. Paul Jones signed them as United States Consul. This was done on the 10th of September last, and an effort is about to be made to raise an amount sufficient to erect a fitting monument over the remains.

It would appear, therefore, as far as we can judge from the testimony recently published, that the remains of the great Columbus were not removed in 1795 to Havana, and as there is no likelihood of their being given up by the Republic of Santo Domingo, they will forever remain on the island which, when living, he loved so much.

The "Diario de la Marina" suggests that the letters D de la A on the leaden case may signify *Descubridor de la America*, although the name America had not yet been given to this continent. It is more probable that they signify *Dignidad de la Almirantazgo*, connected as they are with the next words of *Primer Almirante*. This title was prized by Columbus most highly, and the last words would at the time have been unmeaning without the titular letters preceding it. Fernando, in his will of 1539, speaks of his father twice as D. XPVAL. COLON PRIMERO ALMIRANTE, &c. It was supposed that a long line of Admirals would succeed him in the Almirantazgo, which had been founded to honor him, and which he especially mentions in his will. It might signify also *Dia de la Ascension*, but then the year date would have been added.

The letters C. C. and A on the sides of the box probably signify *Cristoval Colon Almirante*. The inside inscription may be read, *Illustre*

y Escogido Varon Don Cristoval Colon. The London *Athenæum*, of November 24 thinks that the inscription being in Spanish indicates a modern date for its fabrication, as Latin was used at the time of the transference of the remains to America, then called the Indies. This removal was, however, a family, and not an official proceeding, which might explain this matter.

As for the chains which Columbus wore on his return from his third voyage, and which he ordered to be buried with him, they are not elsewhere mentioned than in his will. It is not probable that they were sent to America with his dust, but we believe that these supposed chains are exhibited in the church at Havana. No mention is made of them in the articles describing the recent discovery.

The Havanese have supposed, since the year 1795, that the authentic remains were "deposited in an urn, covered by an erect monumental slab, on the left hand side of the entrance to the choir of the Cathedral." These words are used by Mr. John Woodward in Notes and Queries, 5th Ser., Vol. II, p. 152. He gives also the unmeaning inscription beneath the bust, which, however, is more correctly given by HARRISSE in his "Notes on Columbus." The longer inscription on the monument has been often quoted, and we omit it also.

This doubt as to which city possesses the true ashes of the First Admiral cannot be solved until further inquiry is carefully made. The question excites much interest in Spain, and the Royal Academy of History has appointed a committee to investigate and report on the subject.

JAS. CARSON BREVOORT

¹ See R. de Lorgues' Vie de Colomb., p. 396, note.

² HARRISSE, op. cit., p. 149, note, copied from the Archives of the Indies.

³ The recent exhumation is described in the following official pamphlet and newspaper articles: *Colon en Quisqueya*. Coleccion de Documentos concernientes al Descubriniento de los restos de Cristoval Colon en la Catedral de Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo. Imprenta de Garcia Hermanos. 1877. 12mo., p. 98. *Colon en Quisqueya*, in "La Patria, . . . Santo Domingo, 15 de Setiembre de 1877. Año I, Num. 53." *Colon en Quisqueya*, in "El Diario de la Marina, 27 de Set., 1877." *The Bones of Columbus*, in "The World, New York, Oct. 5, 1877," and other daily papers in New York subsequently.

COLONEL RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA

Concerning this Revolutionary officer, the son of the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, a once eminent collegiate pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in this city, we have recently received some interesting particulars, not heretofore printed, through a lady of antiquarian taste, a great-grand-daughter of Alida, the Colonel's sister, of the ancient Bogert family, who has rendered herself familiar with the record of her Netherlandish ancestry. These facts, with others from the same source relative to the Military Journal of Colonel Ritzema, now in the archives of the New York Historical Society, and published in an early number of this Magazine, are worthy of a place in its columns.

From this memoranda we learn that Rudolphus Ritzema was born at Collum, East Friesland, Holland, some years before his father came from that country in answer to the call of the New York Church to assume its associate charge, which was in 1744. He is first mentioned of the three children which this good "minister of the divine word," with his worthy spouse, Hillje Dykstra—born in the same place—brought with them over the sea. Alida, the second of the number, was born at Collum, February 19, 1742, and the third was Maria Wilhelmina, who married first, Thomas Anderson Hoog, and secondly, David Van Schaak. The dominie had but one son to bear his name to manhood.

From the Ms. Memories of Horatio Bogert, Esq., of New Jersey, his great-grandson, we quote as follows relative to Colonel Rudolphus, viz.: That "he was educated as a soldier in the Prussian army, the best soldiers' school in the world, and had almost certainly been in active service. As Steuben drilled our raw armies, and trained the soldiers who won our independence, it is not remarkable that a man who, like Lee, was a European soldier, should at once take rank among those who were unused to war, and only possessed muscle and courage. At that period it was part of the soldier's creed that advancement in rank must be by regular seniority of commission. Our family tradition is, that such advancement was refused Ritzema, and he left the service in disgust. We have no information of him subsequent to his 'Journal' (with the N. Y. Historical Society, and presented by Horatio Bogert, Esq.), except that he lived and died at York, England. My father had an old friend and client, named Thomas F. Popham, an Englishman, I

believe of York, who while in England had procured the 'Journal' as an American relic. When he accidentally heard that we were related to Colonel Ritzema, he gave the 'Journal' to my father. We never knew of any descendants of the name in this country." In this connection, however, we may relevantly insert a paragraph from the gleanings of the lady above mentioned, which thus reads: "I find a portrait sketch of *Roger* Ritzema, who was a nephew of the Dominie, and who died a young man. He appears in long curling hair, and with a large lace cravat or scarf." "We should have been likely," proceeds the Bogert Ms., "to be informed of the career of Colonel Ritzema, because my father, Cornelius Bogert, born in 1775, lived near the events and actors, knew Colonel Burr, General Hamilton and others of the army, and was related both to Captain Strachan and Captain Leaycraft of the artillery service, yet I have stated all that I ever heard on the subject." It is not of historical importance, but it was said that Colonel Ritzema was a tall man, of good presence. My family were of medium height, and of spare body, while I am myself of much taller stature. My father used to say that I received my frame from the Ritzema branch, thus illustrating the familiar theory of races, skipping as it were, and reproducing again in a subsequent grade."

"Dominie Ritzema," adds our chief authority, "was said to have been indignant that his son should have been supposed to be disloyal to the American cause, which he certainly was not. The family traditions all agree that when he left the army here he never took up arms against the colonial forces. Marshall, in his 'Washington,' represents the Colonel's position erroneously. He was never a traitor. I find his will reading thus: 'I, Rudolphus Ritzema, of the city of Exeter, late Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant in his Majesty's Provincials' in North America, &c.,' giving his wife, *née* Anne Porter, and sons, John, Henry and William, everything, including Mss. Trustees and executors were Thomas Lidell of Ravensworth Castle, in the Bishopric of Durham, Baronet, and George Daniel of City of Exeter, Doctor of Phisick, dated April 24, 1803. He died two weeks after, and was buried at Kent, two miles from Harcross, the place of his death."

In addition to the facts thus received and recorded, we subjoin the substance of several brief notices of this once noted New York officer contained in Force's "Revolutionary Archives," one of which, under date of March 24, 1776, states that he was appointed Colonel of the Third Regiment of "Yorkers." Speaking of it in a letter to a military friend, he says: "The regiment is to continue during this unhappy

struggle in service. This removed all my objections to the service." In May of that year he was Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Alexander McDougall's regiment. In May, 1775, his name is on the list of the New York "Committee of One Hundred," and in the subsequent July he "ordered the seizure of the King's stores" in this city. In the same invaluable Revolutionary repertory we also find a letter of Colonel Ritzema to General Washington, tendering his resignation on account of certain charges, from which he was soon thereafter acquitted by a Court of Inquiry. One of them was of speaking disrespectfully of Lord Sterling, which probably gave rise to inferences affecting his standing as a patriot. From his letter to the Commander-in-Chief at this time, dated July 14, 1776, it is but just to his memory to quote the following paragraph: "The American cause—a cause which I have as much at heart as any man in America, and in which I have frequently ventured my life in the last campaign, and was the first man in the Province of New York who ever took up arms in defense of it—a cause for which I am still willing to lay down my life." In his answer, Washington, in kind, but decided terms, declined to accept the Colonel's proffered retracy.

The "Archives" also preserve several letters of his to the Provincial Congress, and a record of his appearance before it upon military matters, of his presidency of a court-martial in 1776, and also of two letters addressed, one to Lord Sterling and the other to Pierre Van Courtlandt, Esq., Chairman of Committee of Safety New York, brief extracts from which two latter documents will conclude what we have now to offer concerning Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema. He writes to Lord Sterling on the importance of military discipline, a subject relative to which he was probably well prepared to make useful suggestions. We quote as follows: "I can expect little from undisciplinarians. Without discipline, no obedience, and without obedience, no duty. In short, discipline gives confidence, and confidence is the very soul of an army."

Ritzema's letter to Mr. Van Courtlandt, dated Montreal, January 3, 1776, and of considerable length, announces the death of General Montgomery, of whom, with many interesting particulars of the action in which he fell, he speaks in these pathetic and appreciative terms: "Thus fell our worthy and brave General. Weep, America! for thou hast lost one of thy most virtuous and dearest sons."

With regard to the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, the "good old father" of our Colonel, to whom he thus tenderly refers in his letter to General Washington, we would here take occasion to say that his name has been unjustly, because erroneously, numbered among those of the "Loyalists"

in "Sabine's History," with the mere general and unsatisfactory remark appended, that "in the controversy which preceded the Revolution he acted uniformly" with them. The only valid question with us in the premises is, with whom he sided after the contest had gone to its last appeal, *et vi et armis*? That the venerable Dominie was decidedly patriotic in sentiment after the war had begun as well as before is, we think, put beyond reasonable question by the fact that he was declared "*Emeritus*" at the commencement of hostilities. And the same conclusion is no less authorized by the following extract from an historical discourse by the late Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., delivered in 1856, viz.: "Johannes Ritzema and Lambertus De Roude, thoroughly educated in Holland, etc., sustained a highly respectable character during their ministry in New York, and after leaving the city during the Revolutionary war, and remaining in their old age in the places of their exile, they sustained the same character of high respect paid to them during their whole lives."

Dominie Ritzema's ministry in this city covered a period of about forty years, during which at one time he officiated collaterally in the noted "Sleepy Hollow" Church at Tarrytown. As a preacher and a divine "he was," says the Ms. before us, "learned and eloquent, and also, judging from his portrait now in the church gallery of divines in New York," a man of fine presence." We find among the same memoranda a verse written in the Dutch language by Dominie Gulielmus Dubois, his colleague, "on seeing the portrait of Rev. Johannes Ritzema, painted 1753, when he was 42 years old." This was the portrait of him above mentioned, and the only one known. The writer of a recent obituary notice of Mr. Edmund Quincy, in the New York Biographical and Genealogical Record, there states that David Ritzema Bogert of "Beekmantown," the brother-in-law of President Quincy, bequeathed a portrait of Dominie Ritzema, his grandfather, to the New York Historical Society. This is doubtless a mistake, since no such picture or record of it is known to the present curators of that institution. The poetical tribute of Pastor Dubois delivers a noble eulogium upon his associate's ministerial and christian character, which was doubtless as true to life as the picture. It may be found, with a faithful translation by its side, in the New York *Christian Intelligencer* of December last. In the published Minutes of the Colonial Synods, Coetus, and Conferential of the Reformed Church, the name of this ancient pastor often appears, and as one of their most conspicuous members. He was a writer too of much repute in his ecclesiastical sphere, and we learn

from the Rev. Dr. Chambers of this city that one or more of the controversial tracts of Dominie Ritzema is under advisement for reprint by their Publication Board, with a view to preservation.

This good man closed his life at Kinderhook, N. Y., his place of retreat during and after the war, an event piously recorded by one of his grandsons, Mr. John R. Hoog, as follows: "On the 7th of April, 1794, the Rev. Johannes Ritzema slept in the Lord after a short sickness of three days, aged eighty-six years, seven months, thus terminating a life which had been spent in the service of God, and in which he proved industrious and faithful." This reverend, and in his day greatly esteemed clergyman, the father of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema, is very respectably represented in detail by many families in this State and elsewhere of the present generation, and of various names besides the well-known one already given, such as Baskins, Russell, Ludlow, Starr, Mills, etc. To these we add Booth and Brett, each of which has also among us a worthy successor of their common ancestor in the sacred office, viz.: the Rev. Cornelius Brett, of Bergen, N. J., and the Rev. Robert Russell Booth, D.D., pastor of the University Place Presbyterian Church.

WILLIAM HALL

¹ These statements seem contradictory.—EDITOR.

² This valuable collection of portraits, now kept in the basement of the church on the corner of 29th street and 5th avenue, needs safer depository.

NEWS FROM CAMP

LETTERS RECEIVED BY CORNELIUS TEN
BROECK OF ROCKY HILL, NEW JER-
SEY, FROM HIS SONS CORNELIUS
AND PETER SERVING IN THE
CONTINENTAL ARMY

1779—1780

Communicated by George C. Beekman of Free-
hold, N. J.

Camp, White Plains, Sept. 2d, 1778.
Dear Parents.

Your kind favour dated July 31st was about Ten days since handed me which gave me much satisfaction, since which I have recieved a letter from Mr. Jno. De Lamater (Informing me of his being with you a short time since) with a letter from Brother John at Morris Town who was well the 22d August. I have nothing new to communicate to you at present, except the following account from Rhode Island. It seems the French Fleet in the Late storm had recieved so much damage that they determined to proceed to Boston to Refit previous to which Gen'l Sullivan prepared to leave the Island and accordingly began his retreat, which the enemy recieving intelligence of attacked his rear guard which in a short time brought on a very Bloody engagement, when the enemy gave way and left our army entire masters of the field; the above Intelligence is just received in Camp—the particulars are momentarily expected. The main army still remains on the Plains consisting of about 24,000 Men which are plentifully supplied with provisions &c. which is chiefly Brought down the North River landed at a place called Tarry Town about Ten miles from Camp. Not being in a department that causes me to know

the current prices of produce it is not in my power to inform you at present, but may expect it in my next.

Shall be glad to have a line from home whenever convenient, and shall allways think it an esensial part of my duty to write you by every convenient opportunity. I shall add no more but must beg you will excuse the incorrectness of this letter as the person who carries it is waiting.

In haste I remain

Your affectionate Son

CORN. TEN BROECK.

N. B. When you write please direct me at Gen'l Greene's office.

—
Camp, Smiths Clove July 8th, 1779.

This will inform you I arived safe at Camp (in five days after I left home) and found Brother Peter well as we both through divine blessing are at Present. Our Army still continues here and I have not heard of any move being in adgitation. It has been for several days Currently reported that the Enemy are gone down the River again all except about two Regiments which are left to Garrison there Forts at Kings Ferry. Our Camp is about 12 miles from New Winsdor and the same distance from West Point Fort. The Army lay encamped about five miles along the Clove the Roughness of the Ground not admitting of there incamping Closer. I quarter about Six Miles North from Camp at a place called Bloominggrove where I am Posting Books. Peter is in Camp with Mr. Meng.

The crops of Grain are promising in this part of the Country which the Inhabitants are Just beginning to Reap

though some of the wheat is a little Blasted, owing to the frequent Rains we had sometime ago. Wheat sells here from 25 to 30 Dollars p Bushell and other grain in proportion.

I am somewhere between 20 and 30 Miles from Aunt Hausbrooks where I expect to go if we remain here much longer, and perhaps to Eusopus. Shall write you again by next convenient opportunity in the Interum Remain,

Your dutifull and obedient Son

CORNS. TEN BROECK.

P. S. You may perhaps wonder how so many horses as we have with the Army are provided for in this Rough Country. They are Chiefly all Quartered in the Township of Bloomingrove, where they have been since the army arived here and I think I never saw better meadows and pasture that they have in this unlevel Country though it is greatly hurt by a pretty severe Drouth we have here at present.

—
Smiths Clove, July 9th, 1779.

Dear Parents.

I embrace the opportunity of writing you a few lines acquainting you that I am well, and in a good state of health; Hoping these few lines may find you in the same. I have been verry well since I left home, except a day or Two on the way from Middle Brook to this place, I had a midlen bad flux but it left me before I come here. I was inform'd on the way that it was a verry bad road to Smiths Clove and excessive hilly but would not perfectly beleive it was as bad as they told me until I found it to be so.

Mr. Weiss, Brother Cornelius and Mr. Burchan are about six miles from us

into the country, at a farmers house a posting Books in a place called Blooming grove. Mr. Meng, Mr. Wright and myself, are with the stores and have not quite as much busines as we had when we first come. I hear of Cornelius almost every day by Carters who have there horses at pasture where he lives and Received a letter of him this morning for Dadde with a few lines that he was well and desired we would forward it by the first opportunity which I hope you will receive with mine. We hear there is a great Number of Men Deserts Dayly both to and from the enemy; yesterday three men belonging to the Maryland line were found going in to the enemy, they were brought to their camp. The one was shot and his head cut off and this morning was brought to the Virginia Camp and was put on the top of the gallows of a man who was executed and hung; the man who was hung is said to have been executed and reprieved twice before and expected to be reprieved the third time. There is no prospect of our moving soon. I would glad if convenient to Receive a letter from home. I am,

Your Efectionate Son,

PETER TEN BROECK.

—
Camp New Windsor, July 24th, '79
Hon'd Parents.

I wrote you from Smiths Clove about two weeks ago, where the Army continued untill the 16th inst. At one o'clock in the morning of which day Brigadier Genl Wayne, with the Light Troops under his command, made an attack on the Enemy's Fort they had erected at Stoney Point near Kings

Ferry. Rushing on them with six Bayonets, the Enemy were alarm'd by there Picquets, & gave our Troops two or three heavy Fires as they approach'd, which wounded several Valuable Officers. Our Troops nevertheless enter'd the Fort, and after Baynoting one hundred and upwards, the remainder submitted at discretion. It was a very bold and daring attempt, though it succeeded beyond expectation, as our loss, kill'd and wounded, is not near as much as the kill'd and wounded of the Enemy. Our Army kep possession of the Fort till a few days ago, when the Enemy came up the River again in force, there Troops marching up rapidly on the East Side of the River to relieve the Garrison they had left on that side opposite the Fort our Troops took, which was at this time besieged by our army which lay on that side the River, but where obliged to Raise the Siege when the British Army arived near them, being inferior in number to them. His Excellency at the same time ordered the Fort at Kings Ferry to be demolished, which was done, and all the stores safely brought up to West Point Fort, where Head Quarters is kep at present. The Enemy's main body are at Peek's Kill, and the conjectures what movements they will make next are very various.

West Point Fort is about Nine Miles from this, and may be seen from New Burg with a spy glass. I expect to go and see it to-morrow or next day, when I will endeavour to give you a particular description of it.

If we continue here any time, will make a short trip to Eusopus.

I enclose you a Copy of the Return of

the Enemy's Loss and ours on the morning of the 16th instant, which I believe is nearly a just account. I find it impossible to send letters to be left nearer you than Princetown, where I shall in future direct all my letters to the care of Colo. Hyre.

Brother Peter and myself are through divine blessing in perfect health, as we hope this may find you and all the Family. I remain unfeignedly

Your dutifull Son,

CORNS. TEN BROECK

Camp New Windsor, Augt. 11th, 1779.
Dear Father.

In my last I informed you I expected to go to the Fort where I have since been, and as I make no doubt you would be glad to know how it is Situated have enclosed a small sketch thereof, which I have made only with my pen and from the Idea I retain in my memory of the Place—you can therefore not expect it accurate, and must pay no regard to distances, &c., as I have put it down.

I have marked down the principal Forts and mentioned in the Reference their Chief use, except Fort Putnam, which is undescribedly Strong; its built on a high nole or rock; the walls are Sixteen feet high and as strong as stone and lime will make them; there are in it two very Strong Bum proofs besides every other necessary—it can play on the Shipping before any other of the Forts, and commands all the Ground about Fort Arnold. So that if the Enemy should attempt to storm it they would be exposed to the Fire of Both Forts. But it is generally believed they will not attack it this Campaign, as there

Army is gone down to New York again.

Nevertheless General Washington continues at the Forts, and has near a Thousand Men at work daily in order to make them yet more stronger, so as a less number of men may Garrison them and be secure in case of an attack. If the Enemy continues in there present position, its said Gen'l Washington will remain at the Fort untill it is finished, when we shall no doubt be oblige to move, as the pasture will begin to fail here.

We have no news particular here except a report that the French Fleet in the West Indies have gain'd a Victory over the English Fleet, and also taken the Island of St. Vincents, but it yet wants confirmation.

I must also inform you I went to Aunt Hausbrooks on Sunday last, where I was received and treated with the Greatest marks of Frenship. I stayd there two days and left her and family very well; they had lately heard from Eusopus, when our relations there were all well. I had not time to go as far Eusopus, but hope I shall before we are ordered away from here.

The Wheat between this and the wall Kills, and I am told from there to Eusopus, all that was sowed on the low lands, is blasted and was scarcely worth gathering—but the up lands has produced tolerable good Crops. With my love to Mama,

I remain with ye Greatest respect

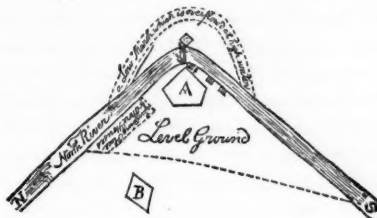
Your Obdt Son,

CORNEL TEN BROECK.

Brother Peter is well, and desires his love.

References. A—Fort Arnold, being

the main Fort which commands the River and protects the Chain. B—Fort Putnam near half a mile from Fort Arnold wh it Commands and overlooks. C—Fort Constitution, Stands on an Island opposite Fort Arnold and in con-



A Long Ridge of Mountains which are Level Fortifications

junction with it protects the chain—it's made very strong on the East side to defend it in case the Enemy should find means to cross the Marsh, which is very difficult. D D D—Little Batteries built on the River Side.

STATION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

VIRGINIANS	{ Between the Clove and Ramapau to be handy to go into Jersey in case of an Envasion there.
MARYLANDERS	{ At West Point where his Excellency General Washington is.
PENNSYLVANIANS	{ On the Island opposite the Point.
2 NEW ENGLAND BRIGADES	{ On the East Side the River a little below the Island.
NORTH CAROLINIANS	{
4 NEW ENGLAND BRIGADES	{
GEN'L POOR'S BRIGADE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE	{ Gone on yewestern expedition under General Sullivan.
GEN'L CLINTON'S BRIGADE FROM NEW YORK	{
GEN'L MAXWELL'S BRIGADE FROM NEW JERSEY	{

Exclusive of the above there are some Troops on the East side Hudson River but am not certain where they are.

The Heavy Baggage and Stores of the Main Army are at New Windsor and the Horses are distributed in the Pastures between that and the Pals.

New Windsor, August, 24th, '79.

Dear Parents.

This will Inform you that I am very hearty and I hope these few lines may find you in the same good state.

I have been almost ready to Despair to hear from you untill last Sunday I recieved a Letter from Bro. Jno., Dated the 17th of August, Informed me that Daddy was at Town and was well and Informed him that they was all well at home which I received with gladness, as I had not heard from you since (Cornelius) Left home.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Brother Corn'ls and I have been to see aunt Hausbrook at the Wallkill and had the pleasure also to see my Couzens. I was there on sunday the 15th inst. August—they was very kind and the Dutch Language was of infinite service to me as they altogether talk Dutch in the Family.

I returned to windsor again on Monday and Left them all well. Couzen Thomas prepar'd to go to Philadelphia, on Tuesday, and telled me that he would go and see dady and mamma which I hope he has.

I have nothing new to communicate to you, But that the enemy have all gone down the river to york Island, except Two Regiments who are fortifying on Stoney Point. We hear that Major Lee has surprised and taken a Considerable number of the enemy at Pawlis Hook, with the loss of some men the particulars are not yet come to hand. Cornelius is About five miles from this into the Country and wrote me a Line this morning acquainting me that he is

well, and I am with the Stores—no more at present,

But remain with Respect
your Affectionate son

PETER TEN BROECK.

John also Inform'd That Daddy wrote a letter to Corn'ls and me, which we have not yet Recieved.

Camp, New Windsor, Sept. 21st, 1779.

Received the 28.

Honoured Sir.

Your kind favour by Gen'l Morris I Received and have since been to Eusopus, which is the reason I have not answered it till now. I left Cats Kill Eight and Eusopus four days ago, where all friends are well, except Uncle Ten Broeck's youngest daughter and son and Cousin Conrad Alvendorph who have the Fever Augue which rages more than was almost ever known there.

Aunt Turk has been in a very poor state of health but is got much better and is still mending. Uncle Turk expects to move from his farm into the Town again this Fall.

Uncle Wynkoop has received two letters from you this Summer, Uncle Van Vechten one and I think Uncle Ten Broeck one also.

I spent about two weeks with my relations very agreeable, they received and treated me in a very friendly manner which will ever make me respect them. Relations and acquaintance were very particular in enquireing after you and desired to be remembered.

As the Army is a place where people generally expect news from I wish I had it in my power to write you some favour-

able but at present we have not a syllable of any kind worth mentioning. Our Army still keeps in and about the fort and the Enemy in and about New York and its very probable there will not much more be done this Campaign, Unless a French Fleet should arrive which is currently talk'd of, but from where it originated I know not.

By accounts from the Western Army it appears they have destroy'd a considerable number of Indian Towns and large Quantity of Corn &c. and are very little opposed by the Enemy. Numbers of People flatter themselves this will be our last Campaign, but according to my notion of Politicks I am fearful it will not, as I am apt to think in case the Enemy find themselves unable to carry on an offensive war next summer in America, they will still keep an Army to act on the Defensive which will oblige us to keep up our Army. This is only my opinion of the matter and wish may not turn out so.

With respect to our money there are various opinions about it every body has their fears concerning it as there are no effectual measures taken to stop the Depreciation thereof; our expenditures daily vastly exceed what is paid into the Treasury on Loan and by Taxation so that the sum in circulation still increases and so long as that is the case it must unavoidably decrease in value.

Peter and myself through the blessing of divine providence are in perfect health as I pray this may find you and all the family.

I remain with much respect

Your dutifull and Obt Son

CORNS TEN BROECK.

Camp, New Windsor, Octr 13th, '79.

Dear Parents.

Its near three weeks since I wrote you last, when I informed you of my receiving your letter by Gen'l Morris, and also of my having been to Eusopus, which letter I make no doubt you have received ere the date of this. I have nothing particular to write you this time having wrote you so lately but as I think it my duty, so its a pleasure to me to write you by every opportunity, and wish I could hear often from you which has been very seldom this summer, I think only once which was the letter above mentioned; however I make no doubt you would write whenever you have an opportunity which I know must be very seldom as you live much out of the way.

I make no doubt but you will soon expect Peter or me home or both of us but how soon that will be is imposible to inform you at present, as we are under great apprehensions of going to New York shortly. The French Fleet we hear are expected at the hook every hour, and the Pilots from this part of the Country who are acquainted with the Harbour of New York are gone down to Monmouth by order of the Commander in Chief; all the Troops from Albany and places Adjacent thereto are yesterday arrived here and all the Boats and Crafts that are in the River between this and Albany are collecting here; the same I am told is done at the sound and in short every preparation is making to attack New York as soon as the French Fleet arrives. The Enemy by Accounts are aware of our design and are fortifying Long Island, impressing the inhabitants to assist them,

a number of whom are fled over to the main in consequence thereof ; but I suppose before you receive this you will have more particular accounts of this moneuvre ; shall therefore add no more but conclude with the greatest respect,

your dutifull and obedient Son

CORN'L. TEN BROECK.

Mr. C. Ten Broeck, sen'r.

New Windsor, Novem'r 10th 1779.
Dear Parents.

I have wrote you very frequently this Campaign, but cannot now recollect the Date of my last Letter. I however therein informed you of the great expectations we had of going to New York, which I am sorry to say we begin to doubt happening this fall, as the Count De Estang with the French Squadron under his Command by the accounts was in Georgia, had landed his men and formed a junction with General Lincoln, who were devising a plan to reduce the British Army in that Quarter, which is not doubted they have compleated ere this ; but as the season is far advanced its judged if the Fleet does arrive it will be too late to carry on the intended operations against New York ; but it seems the matter is not wholly despaired of yet, as the preparations are Still continuing and its said the Army will not go into Quarters untill the General hears particularly from the Count.

The Enemy since I wrote you last have evacuated their two posts on the North River near Kings Ferry and also Rhode Island and all Randavousd at New York which they are Fortifying very Strong.

I was in great hopes this Campaign would have brought the War to an Issue, but I fear we shall have another, which if we may have occasion for, I could wish to think that we shall be in a situation to carry on with ease, but I fear it will be attended with the greatest difficulty principally owing to the depreciated State of our Currency, which I am sorry to tell you is got to a very low ebb in this part of the Continent and I am informed it is not any better with you.

I have not heard a syllable from you since your letter by General Morris which is some considerable time ago, which makes me not so happy as if I could hear from you oftener, but suppose you have no opportunity to write me, or at least I am constrained to think you would not willingly omit once in a while to let me know how you do.

You will not expect Peter nor me home till the Army goes into Winter Quarters, and must not be concerned about us respecting Clothes as we have Each a warm Suit and two pair wollen Stockings which will be sufficient till we get into Quarters which cant be long and undoubtedly will be not a very great distance from you.

I have nothing further to add save that Peter and myself through the blessing of devine providence are in perfect health and hope with his permission to Eat our Christmas dinner with

I remain Dr Parents

with great respect

your Dutifull Son

CORN'L. TEN BROECK.

Mr. Corns. Ten Broeck, Sen'r.

Camp, Quaker Hill, 25 miles East
from Fish Kill, Novem'r 2, 1780.

Dear Father.

I wrote you some time since per one Mr. Armstrong wherein I requested you would please to send my winter clothes to Colonel James Abeel D Q M Gl at Morris Town who has frequent opportunity to send them to me, and have wrote to him to forward them, in case they are sent to him.

I dont think I shall come home this fall unless something should happen that would call me that way, as is some considerable distance and Traveling expences very high.

The Army are still in their Tents, The New England Troops are all in Connecticut being ordered there, when the fleet sailed from New York, in order to be handy to go farther to the Eastward in case the Enemy made any attempt that way.

The Pensylvanians and Carolinasans lay here, the Marylanders at Fish Kill, and the Virginnians between Kings Ferry and Fish-Kill. The New Yorkers are ordered to the Forts in the Mohawk Country in order to keep the Indians in awe who are grown very troublesome of late. The weather is getting pretty cold in this country which will oblige us to go into Winter Quarters very soon which is said will be between Fish Kill and Poughkeeps. A great quantity of Boards have been contracted for and are now transporting down the North River to Build Barracks. After the Army gets into Winter Quarters I expect to take a jaunt home but dont think I shall before. I have not heard a word from you or any of the family since Mr. John

De Lamater came to camp, which causes me to have a great ansxiety to receive a line from you; should therefore be glad if no other g[ood] opportunity offers, you would write me a line by the Post and direct it to me at Gen'l Green's as I am always near his Quarters and with that part of the Army were the mail comes, so that I cant possibly miss receiving it. Every thin[g] is very dear in this part of the country. Wheat sells among the inhabitants from 4 to 5 Dolls p Bushel and other Grain in proportion. The Arm[y] receives Chiefly all their flour from the North River which is collected at Fish Kill from different places, what wheat they raise here is scarcely any more than for their own consumption. With my love to all friends, I am

Your Obdt Son,

CORNS. TEN BROECK.

NARRATIVE OF LIEUT. LUKE MATTHEWMAN

OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NAVY

From the New York Packet, 1787

At the particular request of an American Navy Officer in the late war, the following narrative is published, the conclusion of which will show the intention of its publication.

Early in March, 1776, I entered into the service of my country as Lieutenant of the Brig Lexington, Captain Barry, the services on board which vessel met the approbation both of the commanding officer and the public, particularly in saving 270 barrels of powder from a vessel run on shore near Cape-May, under the fire of two frigates; afterwards

blowing her up with about 30 of the British, who had boarded her; I had the misfortune of being made a prisoner by the Pearl Frigate, on board which ship was most cruelly treated, being thrown in the cable tier, in wet clothes, without any shift in the month of February; on board this ship I continued about one month under the most disagreeable circumstances, until I made my escape at Cape Henlopen. On my arrival at Philadelphia, was ordered to Baltimore, as the Lexington had been retaken by the crew; on board of which was fortunate in regaining my clothes. As Congress then sat at Baltimore, was desired to follow them to Philadelphia (with a number of prisoners under my charge) in expectation to serve on board the Champion Xebeck; but on my arrival took charge of the impress service under very disagreeable circumstances, being liable to all prosecutions; however, was fortunate in manning the Delaware frigate, the two Xebecks, and other vessels. I took the command of a field-piece at Swedesford, and when the British took Philadelphia went on board the Delaware frigate at Mud Island, the first Lieutenant being unwell; on board of this frigate was taken, and confined in the goal of Philadelphia, twenty-one in dungeon (without respect to persons), for eight days; during which time we received no more from the British than one pound of raw beef and two mouldy biscuits; the water they gave us to drink was in a necessary tub, and that very dirty; the means of procuring the same was through the gate of the door, by filling a quart bottle from the tub; on which drink many of us became very

sick, and had it not been for the great humanity of some citizens, who, at great risk, in some measure supplied us, we must undoubtedly have perished, as many then under confinement absolutely did through hunger. After which period of time, through private solicitations to Gen. Howe, we were transferred to the State House; here we fared much better, being allowed two thirds allowance, of which we received about one half, and our friends were permitted to visit us, until some officers expecting their parole, and to ingratiate themselves, informed the officers of the guard that some letters were privately delivered to the prisoners; on this information the ladies were turned down stairs by the Sergeant; and those persons alluded to were heard to say, d—n the b—h—s, they deserve to be kicked down, for which those officers were formally forbid the room of the navy officers. After continuing some few days in this situation, a plot was agreed on, that might have been carried into execution, which was, on private information that most of the troops of Philadelphia, consisting of the grenadiers (the main body being at Germantown), were to go down on a secret expedition, we had concluded to get the guards drunk, relieve the prisoners in the goal (we being ourselves seventy-five officers in number), proceed to Cornwallis's quarters, of whom we had secret intelligence, and take our route over Middle Ferry at Schuylkill, where was a guard of only twenty men; we officers of the navy forfeiting our honors to secure the retreat; matters thus agreed on, I consented to pass, and reconnoitre the

guards; accordingly, at eleven o'clock at night took a water pot in my hand, passed all the guards (who were in a situation we could wish them), went out of the doors into the street to the pump, filled my jar with water, and returned in the same manner, the guards every one asleep. I must acknowledge the temptation great, when I found myself alone in the street; but the hopes of being in some measure of great service to my country bore down all private views; on my return informed the rest of my success and observations, and with some others urged the necessity of our immediately prosecuting our plans without delaying the time; some who were to be the leaders going to bed, discouraged others, while a few, among whom was a Major Darch, of Virginia, were prepared for the purpose; the guard unluckily were awaked by the relief; thus were our measures frustrated by the backwardness of a few. I then solemnly declared I would attempt my escape at any rate, let the consequence be what it might to the rest; accordingly, about three nights afterwards, before the guards had got their lights, I saw most of the prisoners engaged at cards, I slipped unobserved out of the room, the door closing behind me (as I was particularly watched), with my shoes off, close behind the sentry, and got up stairs, where the clock was fixed, the spindle of which to the dials I carefully traced to the case for the weights which, being neglected, had run down. I let myself down, and in two minutes was in the State House yard (a panel being broke out of the bottom of the case) although it was dark was discovered by

the walking centry, who followed me to the necessary, which I entered, and immediately got through the window, and on my hands and knees crawled to the ditch of the wall, over which I got; being then in my uniform, I proceeded to a Quaker's house, who had frequently proffered me friendship, in order to change my clothes, but could gain no admittance, unless I could lay concealed on the roof the house. I then proceeded to Captain Harris's, where I was well received, and lodged in the cellar under the woods for two nights and a day, where I disguised myself, until I could devise a method of getting out of the city. On the second, disguised like a porter, with a bag on my shoulder, as if going for potatoes, passed their lines, and got to Gloster Point, about two miles below the city, where I swam one mile and a quarter to League island, in the time of the year when the water was frozen on the meadows; after which I was obliged to walk near three miles, without hat, coat or shoes, before I could get on board any boat to take me to the fleet at Mud island. At length I got on the brig Andra Doria, where I was supplied with a jacket and trowsers, &c., for which, in the settlement of my account, they have charged me pounds, equal to hard cash. Here I commanded the gunboat, and was in every action for near five weeks, either on board the floating batteries or the gallies, particularly in the last action at Mud Island; the first Lieutenant of the floating battery being under arrest, I was ordered on board to take command of the gun-deck, when we lay exposed to the fire of three two deckers, and the Vigilant

floating battery for three hours within musket shot; when night put an end to the action, and we towed on shore, with 28 twenty four pounders below water, and the spar deck entirely shot away; during the action we had three reinforcements. While commanding the gun boat I cut away at night at two different times the buoys laid out at the expense of many of their lives, in order to warp up their floating battery, on which their whole dependence lay in the reduction of Mud island; this greatly protracted the siege. On our evacuation of the forts and the destroying of our fleets, was the only boat that arrived at Bordentown, loaded with powder, the remainder were drove on shore in passing the city by the very severe fire from the enemy. Our ships on fire making it as bright as day, the galleys luckily escaped the night before.

On my arrival at Bordentown, I was made Commissary for the seamen of the late fleet, and with Captain Robinson, had the conducting of the famous battle of the Kegs, after which Captain Barry and myself, in two barges, passed Philadelphia through the ice, where we captured a British schooner of eight guns, and two ships, one of six guns, after a running fight of three hours. Those vessels we were obliged to destroy, being shortly after pursued by two frigates. In those barges we cruised until the middle of April, preventing any communication from the country with the enemy by water, and was greatly accessary in the preservation of General Wayne and his party, with near one thousand head of cattle, which he had collected in the Jerseys near Salem. The enemy

having intelligence of Gen. Wayne, landed near 1500 men in the Jerseys; In consequence of which, Gen. Wayne consulted Captain J. Barry and myself, being then at Salem. It was judged necessary to fire all the forage on the Jersey side of the river, which would naturally draw the enemy that way, whilst he (General Wayne) by heading the creeks, might march around to the back of them. This plan was put in immediate execution, and effected to our wish; the enemy making their appearance, as we had nearly finished our work. Gen. Wayne having saved all his stock, returned, collected the Militia, and galled their retreat. After laying up the barges, we went to Senepuxent on business; where a message came on shore from Count D'Estaing (who was then off Chingoteague) praying some pilots or gentlemen acquainted with the coast and harbours, to come on board him, as the want of them was his only detention. I accordingly set off in company with Captain Baldwin and the express. We pursued, but could not come up with the fleet, they being in chase of some English ships of war, until we arrived at the Capes of the Delaware. I went on board the Chimere frigate to Philadelphia, for which ship I cruised the bay and coast as a tender, until I was called upon to weigh the guns of the burnt fleet; which service was performed in company with Capt. Brewster, to the number of fifty eight; some in three fathoms water, together with a sloop of ten guns, with everything on board for a cruise in seven fathoms; for this service we received only one ration, and our usual months wages, not paid yet. From this business I was called upon, to carry

dispatches from Congress and Mons Girard, to the Marquis D'Bouille, at Martinico, in a vessel of twenty tons only; every naval officer having refused, alledging the smallness of the vessel and the time of the year (being the first of October). The Navy board urging the great necessity of the matter, together with large promises, I was determined to undertake it, at the risk of my life; I accordingly set off, manned with five deserters from a British man of war, and six Spaniards taken out of goal, and through Providence, (although they had brought the goal distemper on board, so that only two could keep the deck at the same time,) we arrived safe at Martinico. Here I was obliged to be led by two men to the Governor to deliver my dispatches. His Excellency treated me with the greatest politeness, and sent his own physician to attend me. Judge my situation on that passage, being four times chased, myself obliged to be supported to take an observation, there being no other on board capable, which was a great cause why they had not secured my dispatches, as I was informed by one of the men, I afterward saw at Rotterdam, when I escaped from Fortune prison in England. I remained at Martinico, near three months in expectations arising from some promises made me by the Navy Board; after which time, returned in a brig loaded with sugar, charged with dispatches to Congress. I was chased into Chesapeake bay by a frigate, and afterward proceeded for Baltimore. When nearly opposite the river Patuxent, I was chased by two British privateers; and as I had only four guns and twelve men, plied them

with my stern chase; and as they were coming up fast ordered the lee ports to be hawled up, and billets chalked at the ends, run out with all the guns on one side, (being pierced for 16.) When near to me, bore around and raked a schooner, cut away her jibb stay, and fore hal-yard, on which, the other also bore away, and the schooner followed. I however arrived safe at Baltimore, and from thence proceeded to Philadelphia with my dispatches. On my arrival at Philadelphia, I found it out of the power of the Navy Board to serve me, there being no continental vessels in that port. I then returned and fitted out the Black Snake at Baltimore with 16 guns and eighty men, this was attended with great trouble and much expense. I proceeded down as far as Portsmouth, when the British fleet, under Commodore Hotham, appeared in the mouth of the bay and bent their course for James river. A vessel laden with stores, belonging to the State of Virginia, lay becalmed near Hawkins hole; a Captain of one of the State galleys, begged my assistance in covering the brig, as some of the enemy's tenders were coming up fast with a southerly breeze; I immediately got under way with my sweeps, and dropped below the brig; the galley made the best of her way up James river, however I saved the brig. Judging the destination of the enemy up James river, I run my vessel for Portsmouth harbour, up Elizabeth river; but the next morning we observed the fleet standing for Portsmouth, and as there was a large number of shipping then in the harbour, in company with two Captains of French ships, we offered our service to Major Mathews, to

act under him in the fort, we being capable of bringing three hundred good men with us; who, with the matrosses of the fort, and the Militia, might have saved the place, and prevented the devastation committed there. The Major did not accept our offer, and set off with two field pieces towards North Carolina; this discouraged the inhabitants. The French ships and myself, ran as far up the river, so as to get a morass on each side of us; where we sprung across the river to defend ourselves as long as possible. I then with my barge's crew, returned to Portsmouth, to observe the motions of the enemy. I found the town deserted by all except a few; stores full of goods, and magazines full of state stores; We immediately sunk above a thousand stands of arms, and set fire to a ship of 22 guns, which lay ready for launching, and through solicitation, loaded a scow with bale goods for Mr. Dean, brother of Silas Dean Esq. (he being present) and secured them up the river. The enemy making their appearance on the wharfs, and commencing a heavy fire on our boat, I proceeded on board and consulted with the French captains, who promised to stand by me; but am sorry to say, that on notice given of a force coming against us, they blew up their ships, and left me to shift for myself. I was however determined to wait the issue. In about two hours, a large galley with a 24 pounder, one schooner and three gunboats, of one brass six pounder each, commanded by a Lieutenant of the Commodore, approached us. I had both my broadsides well loaded, and our colours were flying; They came so near, that judging my grape and musquetry of

service, we gave them a well directed fire, which obliged them to retire behind a point, where they held a consultation for near an hour. From all their fire we had as yet no man hurt. During their consultation, my men absolutely refused to fight such odds; I then ordered those who chose to go on shore, to step in the boat, in short they all left me but 17, and these mostly officers. We were determined to have one touch more, and then set fire to the magazines, for which purpose we placed a suitable match; the enemy having returned more determined, they kept their fire briskly up, until coming very near, they perceived no one on board (our barge being on the other side with our small arms); without raising our heads above the waist, we poured in a full broadside, which did great execution; and as they boarded one side, we jumped over the other, and put off for the shore.

Forgetting to wet the priming of the other side guns, they gave us the contents, being not twenty yards distance, killed two, and wounded four of our party. We soon got on shore, and from behind the trees in the swamp, galled them prodigiously. Upon this they produced the Lieutenant of marines, with a halter round his neck, and swore they would hang him if we did not desist: he being left behind through his own neglect. We then marched off, through the swamp without interruption. We understood from the inhabitants, and some of my officers, who were afterwards taken in the swamp, that we killed nine, and wounded eleven, among the former, was an Aid of Gen. Mathews and of the latter the commanding officer, who died

shortly after. I was pursued with some of my officers, and kept four days in a place called Dismal Swamp, without a mouthful to eat, half leg deep in mud every step, and seldom a drop of water, which brought on the piles. I counselled my officers to make for the roads at all events, and get to Nansemond river, they all refused except the first Lieutenant and clerk, who were determined to pursue my fate. We nearly gained the skirt of the Swamp before night, and there waited an opportunity to gain the other side of the road before morning; which we happily did, after hearing two of the patrols meet; and got down as far as Nansemond which we crossed in a small canoe. We had not quite crossed, when we perceived the enemy on the bank we had set off from, but were then happily out of their reach. From Nansemond we had to walk the length of fifty miles to Williamsburg. On my arrival at that place, I was sent for, by Governor Henry, of Virginia, who gave me his thanks for what little service I had rendered the state, with five hundred pounds for a horse and sulky (as I could not ride on horseback) to defray my expenses to Baltimore, promising me great acknowledgment on recovering the arms I had sunk at Portsmouth. While I remained at Williamsburg, I understood the remainder of my officers were taken in the swamp, owing to a boy who was sent out for the purpose of deceiving them, by pretending to shew them the way to the North Carolina road; he led them to an ambuscade of soldiers, placed for the purpose; the truth of which I had afterwards from Mr. Hayes, (a nephew

of General Conway) who was my Captain of Marines.

When I arrived at Baltimore was ordered on board the Continental ship Chacy, to carry her to France; she then lying at Patuxent with 700 hogsheads of tobacco on board. On board this ship I was near a twelve month, until she was so much cut by the ice, in the severe winter of 1779-80, that she was judged unfit for sea, and all the benefit I received was wearing out my cloaths. Being destitute, I took a brig of twelve guns, loaded with tobacco from Edentown, bound for Bourdeaux; was unfortunately taken by the Newfoundland fleet, bound to Lisbon, and taken to that port. Whilst there the son of the French Consul came on board the Frigate, who informed me if I could make my escape on shore he would protect me. I observed we lay in the hawse of a Portuguese man of war, when tide of flood; accordingly, one rainy night on the flood tide, about the middle watch, I stript all to my drawers, and with a knife in my mouth, was getting out one of the waist ports, when I was seized by the centinel of the cabin, for which I was closely confined and otherwise illtreated; My intention was to fall alongside the long boat, cut her panther, and drive athwart the Portuguese hawse. I was afterwards carried to Portsmouth, and confined to Forton Prison, from which place I made my escape in the following manner: Over or through the roof of the prison, at the top, there are ventilators for extracting the foul air from the prison; they are about eighteen inches square, and come through the ceiling that forms a cockloft; these we removed, and get-

ting through the holes of the ceiling, and laying on our backs, passed the bags of dirt we had dug in undermining the walls of the prison, and started them on the ceiling. In this manner we dug; the first hole was about 40 feet, in which we were found out, by a tile falling from the roof in replacing the ventilator; but they never could divine where we put the dirt; our answer to them was that we eat it: the tile unluckily falling on the guard's head, he rushed in the prison, and discovered the hole we had dug before we could cover it. The next we attempted were more fortunate; we dug 42 feet; the method of calculating was ten bags to a foot, and 100 bags was usually a night's work. At length we broke up in the cellar kitchen of an old woman, who, being frightened, fell backward, but recovering, called the guard! the guard! however, we soon gagged her, and about 60 got out of the hole. A Captain Smith and myself made our escape to Gosport; the rest were either five pounders, or taken (a five pounder is one or many, who agree with some one of the boors, on such a night they will be out and come to his house, which they do, and spend the night and perhaps the next day drinking, &c.; he then brings them to the Commissary, and receives five pounds for each, half of which goes to the prisoners). From Gosport we went to Portsmouth, where we received instruction from our good friend Dr. Wren how to proceed; however we were in London twenty four hours from Forton Prison. By our worthy friend we were directed to a Mr. Diggs, who was then an agent in that city, and informed him that I was a continental officer.

He procured me a passage to Ostend in a trader, giving me letters to Mr. Franklin at Passy, and Mr. Adams at Amsterdam, as likewise the charge of two packages for a Mr. Boen at Ostend; he had likewise given a Mr. Bralesford a letter to Mr. Boen, as he was going to Ostend, by the way of Margate, specifying the articles in my charge. I proceeded as far as Greenwich, where we came to, and when getting again under way, an officer came on board, with an open letter in his hand, and demanded my name; I told him it was John Black; he asked me where I belonged to, what business I followed, and what my business was at Ostend; I told him, that "I commanded a privateer cutter, called the Sandwich, laying at Southampton; my business at Ostend was, to redeem fourteen of my men, who made their escape from Dunkirk, who had been retaken in a prize of mine on a former cruise; they having run much in debt in Ostend, were detained for the payment, and as my vessel could not proceed to sea without them was going for them myself." He then produced the letter sent by Mr. Diggs, with Mr. Bralesford, wherein my name was mentioned, having the charge of the packages; he informed me, the bearer of the letter, being too free in his speech, and dropping some expression unsuitable, was seized, and this and other letters of consequence found on him, which were sent to him in order to stop the vessel. The Captain informed him, a person of that description was to have been his passenger, but had taken another route; Whilst he was searching for the packages, I slipt my letters between the carbines, and the deck unperceived, after which

was entirely easy as to myself. But finding the packages, he desired me to remain on board until he had spoke to the head officer, and detained the vessel until the next morning, it being then near dusk. In his absence the Captain told me, he greatly suspected me; and advised me as a friend to take his boat and go on board a vessel just getting under way, bound for the same port. He desired me to turn his boat a drift as the wind would drive her on shore; he could then inform the officer I had taken away the boat. I thanked him, took his advice, and the next evening arrived at Ostend. I having engaged with Mr. Diggs, to go master of the South Carolina frigate (then at Amsterdam) made the best of my way through Flanders for that place. In Rotterdam I saw Commodore Gillon, the commander of the ship, who gave me his directions. On my arrival on board the ship, then laying about half way between Amsterdam and the Texel, every thing was in confusion, three of the Lieutenants were under arrest, and the ship like a mere wreck, her crew then about 250 men mostly Americans, who had made their escape and had got on board under pretence of giving them a passage to America; where they were near a twelve month with two miles (a part of the time) of the shore, and were never allowed the liberty of slipping over the ship's side; I myself was seven months on board, though master of the ship. On some disagreement I quit the ship and returned to Amsterdam, where I was offered a Second Lieutenancy on board Admiral Dedel, in a ship of 68 guns. I could not accept it, as the wages would not support me in that sta-

tion, most of the officers being sons of Noblemen. I then took passage in a brig for Philadelphia, and after arriving on the coast, we were blown off, and reduced to half a biscuit and a pint of water per day for three weeks; we put into Porto-Rico, a mere wreck, from which place I arrived safe at Philadelphia.

On my arrival at Philadelphia I took the Lieutenancy of the Hyder Ally; on board which ship we engaged, and took the General Monk; the engagement lasted 27 minutes, with the muzzles of our guns rubbing together. The Monk had eighteen nine pounders and 132 men; Hyder Ally had twelve six pounders and four nine pounders, with 120 men, picked by chance out of the streets not a week before; our loss was three killed and eleven wounded; that of the enemy (though almost incredible) was 21 killed, among which were the Master, Boat-swain, Lieutenant and Gunner, and 32 wounded; among the latter was Captain Rogers. A short time after this engagement I accepted the Lieutenancy of the General Washington (formerly the Monk), and proceeded for the Havanna with Captain Barney for half a million of dollars. On our passage we fell in with a Liverpool privateer of equal force, with whom we had a severe brush for about three glasses; she kept up a running fight, but our ship being the best sailer had greatly the advantage, until she shot away our fore top gallant mast, splintered almost half the main mast, and shot our mizzen mast under the hounds, as her fire was mostly at our spars and rigging. She killed of us only one man, and wounded four; night com-

ing on, and not being able to make sail, she got from us. Our damages obliged us to put into Cape Francois for main and mizzen masts &c. After we had made our repairs, we sailed for the Havanna, and on our arrival there found that an embargo was laid on all American vessels, in consequence of advice from Spain that America was making a separate peace. The Governor concluded the embargo should be taken off, provided two of the American vessels, mounting 16 guns each, were fitted out to cruize the coast of Cuba, which was complied with, and myself ordered the command of the Schuykill, of 16 six pounders, and 100 men, mostly Spaniards. After cruising about a month without success, fell in with the British fleet of 27 sail of the line, and in the night, was taken and brought into New York and paroled on Long Island; having certificates with me of some prisoners I had put on board a flag from Jamaica, I procured my exchange. On my way to Philadelphia was offered the command of Hyler's boats at Brunswick, which I accepted. In these boats I captured a British gun boat, with 22 grenadiers and sailors, and retook a brig that was on ground near the narrows, for which the gun boat was the guard, together with a schooner with half the brig's cargo on board. Shortly after, the peace taking place, put an end to my services.

OBSERVATIONS. — The intention of publishing the foregoing narrative is, to convey an idea of the sufferings of those who engaged in the naval department during the late war; and I would

be understood as considering myself one of the *least* of those sufferers.

This narrative may likewise serve to shew some peculiar disadvantages the Navy Officers laboured under; which, it is conceived, entitle them to a participation of the emoluments granted to their brethren in the land service: such as the allotments of land, and commutation monies, as it is commonly termed. The exclusion of the Navy Officers from these privileges is certainly unfair. It has been acknowledged by gentlemen of candor and abilities that, although the officers of the navy were not so numerous as those of the army, still their spirited conduct throughout the war was apparent; their services were essentially useful; their exposition to dangers was great; and their sacrifices and sufferings were equal to any other class of citizens. If this be true, why are they not to reap equal emoluments with their brethren in the land service? Even to procure a settlement of accounts for their known services, they are obliged to send for certificates to the most distant parts of the Continent.

Another difficulty at present peculiar to some of the officers is this:— The Whig merchants who were engaged in the shipping line previous to the late war, being mostly now unable to serve them, they are necessarily obliged to follow occupations with which they are unacquainted, or remain idle. The greater part of the persons at present engaged in the shipping way, being men of opposite principles, employ such as *have* acted, and now think, similar to themselves.

At the conclusion of the war, finding

myself destitute of employ, I was under the necessity of accepting the disagreeable business of transporting free negroes from this place to their respective homes. In the prosecution of which I incurred the appellation of Kidnapper. However, I can easily exculpate myself from this charge, as my transactions were authorized by some of the Magistracy, whose warrants I can at any time produce.

The *tried* and sincere friends of my country will, I trust, approve of my intentions in this publication. As for the opinions of the *opposite class*, they ever were, and still are to me, a matter of mere indifference.

LUKE MATTHEWMAN,

An American Navy Officer in the late war.

NOTES

THE CONTINENTAL COCKADE.—The officers who have lately come into camp are informed that it has been found necessary, amidst such frequent changes of troops, to introduce some distinctions by which their several ranks may be known, viz.:—Field officers wear a pink or red cockade; Captains, white or buff; Subalterns, green. The General flatters himself every gentleman will conform to a regulation which he has found essentially necessary to prevent mistake and confusion.—*General Orders, Aug. 20, 1776.*

All officers, as well warrant or commissioned, to wear a cockade and side arms.—*General Orders, June 18, 1780.*

The officers recommended to have white and black cockades, a black ground with a white relief, emblematic of the expected union of the two armies, American and French.—*General Orders, July 19, 1780.*

At a meeting of the Whig inhabitants of New York City returned from a seven years' exile, held at Cape's Tavern Nov. 20, 1783, it was *Resolved*, That the Badge of Distinction to be worn at the reception of the Governor, on his entrance in this City, be a *Union Cockade*, of black and white ribband, worn on the left breast, and a Laurel in the hat.—*Rivington's N. Y. Gazette, Nov. 22, 1783.*

Boston, June 16. The Minister of War has been pleased to direct, that the uniform of the troops raised and to be raised for the frontier service, be blue, faced and lined with white, for the infantry; and blue, faced and lined with red, for the artillery; the cockades to be black. Discarding the union cockade does not seem to meet with general approbation. It is therefore to be lamented, that any regulation should take place that will excite jealousy, or create uneasiness in the minds of our allies, who afforded us succour in the moment of distress and difficulty.—*Port-Roseway Gazetteer, June 30, 1785.*

Several persons, says a Philadelphia paper, have been taken up and committed for wearing in their hats a red and blue ribbon; the old continental cockade. * * * there are many also who wear black cockades in their hats. * * * the only manner in which the magistracy can effectually restore tranquility to the city is by prohibiting the wearing of these badges. It will no doubt be attempted to make a distinction between these two sorts of badges, the one will be called French because it bears some resemblance to it; the other American, though it is exactly like the British.

As to the blue and red cockade, it is

true that it is not the military badge recognized by our government as the American cockade; though it is composed of the colors in our national flag, and was worn in the beginning of our revolutionary war. It is true also, that it somewhat resembles the French.—*The Time Piece*, May 14, 1798. W. K.

ANOTHER FISH STORY.—*Boston, November 23, 1767*. We hear from Marblehead, that a Fisherman arrived there last Friday Night from the Banks of Newfoundland; the Master and People belonging to her give the following extraordinary account, viz. That on the Banks of Newfoundland being at Anchor, they were much surprised to observe that their Vessel ran direct in the Winds Eye at a considerable Rate, they hove their Log-Line and found she went above 7 knots, (not being able to purchase their Anchor) and continued so to their great Astonishment for 36 Hours, without being able to Account for this unusual Occurrence; when a large Whale hove up, seemingly much tired, they then hove towards him, and got so nigh as to discern the whale had got their Anchor in his jaws; they still hove nigher, and threw their Fish-Hook into the Ring of the Anchor, but being under fearful Apprehensions of Danger, they cut their Cable, and the Whale went off with their Anchor and part of the Cable. Several other Fishermen being in sight were greatly surprised to see this Vessel run direct to Wind ward without any sail, and hove up their Anchors and came to sail. If any of the Whalemens should happen to take the Whale, they are desired to return

the Anchor to the Owner in Marblehead.
PETERSFIELD.

NAVAL SONG, 1812.—

Columbia's sons, a patriot band
Inured to victory on the land,
In spite of orders and decrees,
Are gaining laurels on the seas.

Decatur, Jones, and gallant Hull
Will give a lesson to John Bull;
And Rodgers, too, who we well know
Will conquer, when he meets the foe.

Of Davy Jones, no future fear
From English sailors shall we hear;
For now they wish to save their bones
From being sent to Jacob Jones.

H. S.

NEW YORK PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.—
A tabular statement of the rates of sterling exchange in the province of New York at successive periods, would be convenient for reference.

Appleton's Cyclopædia *sub voce* "Money," gives the rates which obtained in the several provinces for a single year—the year 1767. In New York and East Jersey the rates were 175 to 171 5-7.

From manuscripts consulted I learn that in 1758 the guinea was valued in New York currency at £1 16 0
The French pistole at 1 8 0
The Spanish pistole at 1 9 0
The Portugese moidore at 2 6 0
The Johannes, or "joe," at 3 3 0

New York bills of three, five and ten pounds, and of twenty and forty shillings are mentioned; and "Jersey bills" of three and six pounds, and of three, twelve and thirty shillings. The Jersey pound was worth £1 1 8 New York currency.
C. W. B.

THE GOOD OLD TIMES.—The citizens of Framingham, Mass., celebrated the 4th of July, 1827, in good style. Among the toasts drank on that occasion was the following, offered by Josiah Adams: "*The good old luxurious days of our Independent Daddies*:"—when Bean-porridge was Turtle-soup, New Cider was Champagne, and Bread and Molasses was Wedding-cake." A. H.

LAST OF THE STAMPS.—*Newport, Rhode Island, December 7, 1767.* Last week his Majesty's Ship the *Garland*, Captain St. Johns, sailed from this port for England. She carried off—(what the Viper brought here about two Year since)—the memorable Stamped Paper, which was sent by the Mother Country, for the use of her Children in this Colony; and now returned, in order to be unpacked and distributed. REDWOOD.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES IN PHILADELPHIA.—The St. Andrews is by far the oldest of all the national societies of a relief and social character in the city of Philadelphia, having been founded by Scotchmen, for giving pecuniary assistance to their distressed countrymen, as far back as the year 1749. Next in age among our national societies of this class are the German, founded in 1764; the Hibernian, 1771–1792; Sons of St. George, 1772; the Welsh, in 1798; the Société de Français de Bienfaisance, in 1793–1805, and the Swiss Benevolent, in 1805. F.

THE SEVEN WONDERS OF THE WORLD.
1. A Stamp Act, and a duty on Tea at Boston.

2. A Bishop revived and authorised in Connecticut.

3. The British restraining our trade, keeping possession of our frontier posts, carrying away our money and laughing at us—and likely to do so forever.

4. Religious disputes revived in the enlightened State of Maryland.

5. Rhode Island granting the five per cent. duty to Congress, and New York refusing it.

6. The free constitution of Pennsylvania.

7. George Washington.—*Freeman's Journal, May, 1785.* W. K.

PIRATES ON THE VIRGINIA COAST.—Upon the 7th of this Instant a Ship arrived at *Bristol* from *Virginia*, and brought this account: That a Pyrate of 20 Guns and 120 men of Several Nations, came about the latter end of *March* upon the Coast, and took the *Indian King* of *London*, and also one Captain *Larty* of *London*, laden with Tobacco; but the *Shoreham*, one of his Majesty's Ships, arriving there at the same time, tho' weakly mann'd, Coll. *Nicholson*, the Governour, with several other Persons, went aboard her, engag'd the Pyrate, and after a fight of Ten Hours took her, and retook the two Merchants Ships before mention'd also, with the loss of the Collector, and six more kill'd and wounded. A considerable piece of service done in time, for had not this Pyrate been luckily prevented by the Courage and Conduct of the Governour, all the Homeward bound Ships for this Season had been in danger of being destroyed.—*The State of Europe, June, 1700.* W. K.

QUERIES

GERMAN BIBLE OF 1483.—The Reverend Ferdinand Sievers, Lutheran pastor of Frankenlust, Saginaw County, Michigan, is the possessor of a Bible printed at Nuremberg in the year 1483. It contains a curious inscription showing that in the year 1602 this book was presented to the newly-founded library of the village of Namslau, in Prussian Silesia, by Johannes Kletke, citizen and baker of that village; "for the Lutherans, as heretics, to their ignominy and infamy, that they may see that their German Lutheran Bible has been falsified:—much omitted, *much added*."

This edition of the Bible contains the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, but lacks the Pentateuch and several other historical books. Is it known to the libraries? C. W. B.

FRENCH IN NEW YORK.—What was the period of the first introduction of the French Huguenot element into New York? Did any emigration occur before the Edict of Nantes? ALBANY.

STEBEN'S WILL.—Kapp, in his Life of Steuben, prints a will of the Baron. Can any of your readers give information as to where the original is preserved; the Records of the State of New York have been searched in vain?

SEARCHER.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—Is there known to exist any authentic portrait of Columbus? DIEGO.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN MAINE.—Do any records exist of the members of the

Church of England who settled at an early period at Pemaquid; Hough's volume does not give biographical detail?

E. R. T.

REPLIES

WRECK AT THE ISLES OF SHOALS.—(II. 57.) Many years ago I collected some historical matters relating to the Isles of Shoals. Among my collections, I find some particulars relating to the wreck there, referred to by Review. Without producing evidence—as I design to discuss this more fully on another occasion—I will state the following facts: The Spanish vessel *La Concepcion*, from Cadiz for New York, was wrecked at the east end of Smutty Nose Island on the night of January 14, 1813.

The Spanish ship Sagunto, Captain Carrero, from Cadiz for New York, arrived at Newport, R. I., on the 12th day of January, 1813, two days before the wreck of *La Concepcion*, having had a long passage of 73 days. The Sagunto proceeded to New York, reaching there February 2, 1813.

To the blundering recorder at the Isles of Shoals, and to some Boston newspapers, we are indebted for all this confusion.

Boston.

C. W. T.

DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION.—(II. 83.) Dr. Rau's observations on the Dighton Rock inscription does not go beyond the facts, but it might appear from the way the subject is presented, that the error in connection with the Runamo Rock was not well understood. Such, however, is the case. It is referred to

amongst others, by the author of *Pre-Columbian Discovery* (p. LV.), Munsell, Albany, 1868. The point, however, is that the case is specially comprehended by the Boston committee, who have the subject of a monument to the Northmen in hand, and that all their actions will be made consistent with the latest information on the subject. The writer understands that the Antiquarians of Copenhagen have abandoned the inscription of Dighton Rock, as that of Runamo, and the alleged "Runic Rock" of Monhegan, Maine. It may also be added, that a monument to the Northmen who discovered America in the eleventh century has already been dedicated by the Icelanders in Minnesota.

DELTA.

INVERTED INTERROGATION POINTS.—(II. 58.) In the Spanish, whenever an exclamatory or interrogative sentence occurs of such length, or which from the construction, its nature is not immediately apparent, the distinguishing mark for punctuation is placed, as in the English at the conclusion, and also for the purpose of guiding the reader in giving proper modulation to the voice, and in order to convey unequivocally to the mind the idea intended, an inverted point of the same character is prefixed to the sentence.

The publisher of the book mentioned, realizing doubtless the manifest utility of such an arrangement of the modulative signs, employed it, perhaps, with the hope of its ultimate incorporation into our English system.

Hudson, N. Y.

Ego.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, 1778. —(II. 58.) Washington had his headquarters at Fredericksburg, now known as Kent, Putnam County, New York, from October to November, 1778, when they were removed to Middlebrook.

W. K.

FALL OF THE ALAMO.—(II. I.) Since reading the article on the fall of Alamo, by Capt. Potter, I have heard an old resident of San Antonio say, "I have often seen and spoken to the daughter of Capt. Dickenson, who was one of the survivors of the Alamo." Captain Potter says, "Toward the close of the struggle, Lieut. Dickenson, with his child in his arms, or, as some accounts say, tied to his back, leaped from the east embrasure of the chapel, and *both* were shot in the act;" further on he says, "A negro belonging to Travis, the wife of Lieut. Dickenson, who at the time was *enciente*, and a few Mexican women with their children were the only inmates of the fort whose lives were spared." The question is this: Was not the lady referred to by my informant born after the fall of the Alamo? There seems also to be a conflict in the following: Capt. Potter says, "According to Mr. Ruiz, then the Alcade of San Antonio, who after the action was required to point out to Santa Ana, the body of Crockett was found in the west battery just referred to, and we may infer that he either commanded at that point, or was stationed there as a sharpshooter;" Appleton's *Cyclopædia*, vol. I. page 236, says, "The Texans, unable to load in the hand-to-hand fight which

now ensued, clubbed their rifles and fought with desperation, until but six of their band remained alive. These, including Col. Crockett, surrendered to Castrillon, under promise of protection; but being taken before Santa Ana, they were, by his orders, instantly cut to pieces. Col. Crockett fell stabbed by a dozen swords." The life of Crockett very closely confirms the statement of Mr. Ruiz to Capt. Potter.

E. W. SPENCER.

Council Grove, Kansas.

FEBRUARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening, February 5, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair.

A minute of thanks to Mr. Benjamin H. Field, late Treasurer of the Society, for his long and faithful services, was reported by the Executive Committee and unanimously adopted.

A resolution of thanks was also voted to John Divine Jones, Esq., of New York City and Queens County, for his generous gift of three thousand dollars to the Society, thereby increasing the John D. Jones Publication Fund to the sum of six thousand dollars.

The usual routine of business concluded, the Honorable Erastus C. Benedict, LL.D., Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, read a paper on "The Evacuation of New York and the Battle of Harlem Heights, in September, 1776."

This engagement, though unimportant if the number of men engaged and the amount of killed and wounded on either

side be alone considered, Mr. Benedict held to be one of the most decisive of the war. It was not a defeat as Bunker Hill, nor yet a rout as the Battle of Long Island, but a fairly earned success; indeed, the first success of the American arms. The British left their encampment which stretched across the island from McGowan's on the east to the Apthorpe House on the west, attacked the Americans, and were driven back to their position.

In the number of the Magazine for January, 1877, our readers will find an account of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of this battle on the heights overlooking Harlem Plains, and of the oration then delivered by the Honorable John Jay upon the fight and its consequences. In this complete and comprehensive address Mr. Jay located the scene of the principal engagement to be the crest of land upon which the celebration was held, lying between 117th and 119th streets. To this location Mr. Benedict made exception, and held that the action took place on the high ground to the northward, in the neighborhood of the Morris House, known as Harlem Heights.

At the close of the paper Mr. Benson J. Lossing moved a vote of thanks to the orator, and was seconded by the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye in some interesting remarks; and the evening closed with a few words from the President, Mr. de Peyster, who, from early youth, has been familiar with the historic ground referred to. Mr. de Peyster differed from the conclusions of Mr. Benedict.

The paper will probably be the cause of a lively controversy, in which, whoever may suffer, the interests of history will be served.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

NOVA-ZEMBLA (1596-1597). THE BARENTZ RELICS: RECOVERED IN THE SUMMER OF 1876, AND PRESENTED TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT. Described and explained by J. K. J. DE JONGE, Deputy Royal Archivist at the Hague. Published by command of his Excellency, W. F. VAN ERP TAALMAN KIP, Minister of Marine. Translated, with a preface, by SAMUEL RICHARD VAN CAMPEN. With a Map and a fac-simile of the "Scroll." 8vo, pp. 70. TRUBNER & Co., London, 1877.

The first discovery of the relics of this early Dutch navigator, who sought the way to China through the Arctic seas, was made by Captain Elling Carlsen, who was the first navigator known to have entered Ice Haven since the voyage of the Barents in 1596.

In 1594 the Government of the United-Provinces fitted out three vessels for the discovery of a northwest passage: *le Cygne*, commanded by Cornelis; *le Mercure*, by Isbrandtz; and *le Mesager*, by Willem Barentz de Terschelling. Of these Barentz alone took a northerly course, and reached the highest point of Nova-Zembla 77° 25' north latitude, which he named Is-Hock or *Cap des Glaces*. Further progress being stopped by the ice he returned to Holland, where he landed 16th September, 1594.

The next year a fleet of seven vessels under the command of Van Heemskerck, and with William Barentz as Chief Pilot, sailed from the Texel and touched the Coasts of Nova-Zembla and Asia, but was prevented by ice and fog from reaching beyond the 71st parallel. These successive failures discouraged the Dutch Government. The Council of the City of Amsterdam then stepped in, fitted out two vessels, and placed them under the direction of Willem Barentz. They left Amsterdam the 10th of May, 1596. The 5th of June they met the first icebergs. After an extensive and circuitous navigation they found themselves on the 25th of August shut in by the ice. Here began, for the hardy mariners, a series of incidents and privations which lend to the narrative a tinge of romance.

The report before us gives an account of the voyage of Mr. Gardiner's yacht "Glowworm," in July and August, 1876, to the spot where Barentz wintered. We will not describe the various articles discovered and rescued from

the custody of the bears. No. 16 of the collection contains nine strips of red flag stuff and fragments of black banner stuff, with a depending white cross or Cross of St. Andrew; joined together it furnishes a portion of the three stripes of the Amsterdam banner, namely, red, black, with the three crosses (of which only one now remains) and red. The objects found—one hundred and twelve in number—were generously presented to the Dutch Government, and are now in the model room of the Naval Department at the Hague.

THE PIONEERS OF UTICA: BEING SKETCHES OF ITS INHABITANTS AND ITS INSTITUTIONS, WITH THE CIVIL HISTORY OF THE PLACE FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1825, THE ERA OF THE OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL. By M. M. BAGG, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 665. CURTISS & CHILDS, Utica, 1877.

This is one of the most exhaustive and valuable local histories of which we have knowledge, and from the notices of it in the region which it describes we are satisfied that its correctness may be thoroughly relied upon. The original settlement made at Utica took the name of Fort Schuyler from the old fort at the fording place of the Mohawk. The first chapters of the book are devoted to a history of the taking up of the original tract of the territory, which was originally a grant of 22,000 acres made by George II. in 1734, for the benefit of Governor Cosby, whence it took the name of Cosby's Manor. In 1774 it was sold for arrears of quit rents and purchased by General Philip Schuyler, on joint account of himself, General Bradstreet, Rutger Bleecker, and John Morin Scott. In chapter II. we find an account of the first charter of Utica in 1798. Chapter IV. begins the history of the town under the second charter of 1805; chapter V. that under the third charter enacted in 1817, when Utica was set off from Whitestone and created into a separate town.

The volume is full of interesting biographical detail concerning many distinguished families whose names are identified with the history of this beautiful city, and will be found indispensable to any one interested in the study of the history of the State of New York.

THE COMING EMPIRE; OR, TWO THOUSAND MILES IN TEXAS ON HORSEBACK. By H. F. McDONALD and N. A. TAYLOR. 12mo, pp. 389. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, 1877.

We have here a volume which cannot but prove fascinating to all who are fond of accounts of scenery and the adventure of travel. The authors are enthusiastic travellers, show a keen appreciation of nature and a devotion to the lone star state which we have found common to all who have visited this wonderful country, of which our authors make the prophecy that come what may, whatever changes and revolutions may shake the American continent and disperse its people, Texas will forever stand *one indivisible*—the mightiest empire of them all. In the next census her population will we are told exceed that of Ohio; in that which follows that of New York. This is what we used to hear termed "tall talk," but we have no disposition to dispute the assertion. If "Nature and her God" have knitted Texas together for a great destiny, then as is said man cannot put her asunder; otherwise she must submit to the inevitable law of subdivision and change. Intermixed with charming descriptions of nature and country are valuable accounts of the origin of the different settlements and the characteristics of the population.

HISTORY OF WINDHAM COUNTY, CONNECTICUT. By ELLEN D. LARNED. Volume I. 1600-1760. Published by the Author, 1874. 8vo, pp. 582. CHARLES HAMILTON, Worcester. Map. 1874

This first volume of the history of this ancient town brings its record to the middle of the last century. We regret extremely that the promise of a second volume, which should continue the account to the present day, has not yet been fulfilled. It is rarely that we find a work so comprehensive as this, which was pronounced at the time of its publication as rather an exposition of New England character, institutions and life, illustrated in the settlement and history of a frontier country, than a local sketch. The accomplished authoress is familiar with her subject in every branch, and her work is the recognized standard authority upon all subjects whereof it treats. It is divided into four periods: the first, from 1676 to 1726; the second, from 1726 to 1743; the third, from 1740 to 1746, when the well-known Separatist religious movement shook the orthodox world; and fourth, from 1745 to 1760, closing with the French and Indian War.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York.

The publishers have never supplied a better number than this. The article on the Elements of National Wealth, by David A. Wells, and on Money and its Laws, by W. G. Sumner, will interest the large and increasing class of persons who are making political economy a study. Sumner's place in history is treated by Ben. Perley Poore, and the Count of the Electoral Vote by Alexander H. Stephens. These are the only articles with which we have properly any thing to do; but the reader will find amusement and instruction in First Impressions of Athens by Mr. Freeman, and in Dr. Samuel Osgood's learned disquisition on Modern Love. His treatment of it is not as realistic, nor his physiological analysis as keen as that of Stendhal. Goethe's Werther is the text of this first chapter. Werther was an example of what Stendhal calls *amour-passion*, which is hardly the recognized German type, which is usually *amour-sentiment*. From this metaphysical dilemma we expect to see the accomplished Doctor extract himself triumphantly in a second paper, the theme of which is to be "Modern love in its positive traits and serious worth." We are glad to be promised such treatment of the universal god, who, as the poet tells us, "rules the court, the camp, the grove."

THE COMMONWEALTH RECONSTRUCTED. By CHARLES C. P. CLARK, M.D. 8vo, pp. 216. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York.

This is an effort to present a picture of the existing condition of the political system of the United States; to ascertain the true root of our difficulties, and recommend a method of change, which the author does in a new system of elections. We find in his reasonings and suggestions a great deal that is excellent, while we differ with him in many of his conclusions. Mr. Clark considers that we are doing the best that we can under our present system, and that the present machinery of political organization is indispensable to democratic affairs, from the fact that its methods and instruments, caucus, convention, committee and platform, are the inevitable processes of every popular movement. The new system proposed contemplates a popular constituency and a college of representative electors chosen by it. The tenure of office he would have undefined and at the pleasure of the electors as well as the appointing power. We can not go further into details. The book is well worth perusal and study.



Don E. J. M.